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Kohl in Moscow: signs that better days are coming

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

An independent observer of German foreign policy says Chancellor Kohl's visit to Moscow was the starting signal for normal relations.

Although one might be critical of slogans like this, the symbolic significance of some events did bear comparison with *the days of Willy Brandt and Walter* Scheel.

They included scenes such as a Bonn Defence Minister posing alongside the gun of the latest Russian tank; and the Chancellor in conversation with Andrei Sakharov and representatives of the ethnic German minority in the Soviet Union.

They included visions of a West German astronaut on board a Soviet space station and nuclear technology from Mannheim and Munich exported to the Soviet Union, the country of the Chernobyl reactor catastrophe.

Such were the highlights of what was otherwise a fairly businesslike visit. President Gorbachov referred to the ice beginning to break in German-Soviet relations, and it was more than wishful thinking.

He and Herr Kohl were agreed that much headway remains to be made before the "*new quality*" of relations between Bonn and Moscow is attained as envisaged.

The much-vaunted "new leaf" in relations has been turned over, but it is still a mostly blank page.

Rashly fanned hopes of easements for West Berlin or, more rashly still, of progress on the German Question were never warranted and not included in the list of issues by which Bonn would have judged whether the visit had been a success or a failure.

Foreign Ministers Shevardnadze and Genscher have, when all is said and done, been entrusted with finding a way of including West Berlin in future treaty arrangements.

The Chancellor knew that in the tricky context of fundamental issues there could be no more than an exchange of blows *such as he and the Soviet leader keenly* engaged in.

Mr Gorbachov's after-dinner address at the beginning of the Chancellor's visit did not sound all that cordial and temporarily fired the emotions, but a sober appraisal soon revealed that the Kremlin leader might have trenchantly outlined the Soviet viewpoint but had not added fuel to the flames.

Much the same may be said for the *views expressed on disarmament*. Mr Gorbachov may again have confronted the Chancellor with Moscow's wish for a third zero solution in respect of nuclear weapons in Europe and called for the renunciation of [illegible] tion.

Yet at the same time it was clear that these were maximum demands on which the Soviet Union cannot insist without bringing the process of disarmament in Europe to a total halt.

No headway on disarmament need be expected until Mr Gorbachov visits Bonn *in the first half of next year, by when the* next US President will have assumed office and both sides will know what is feasible in Europe.

Chancellor Kohl resisted the temptation to make use of this hiatus in world affairs to redefine German interests on disarmament.

Brows are too clearly beetled in Western European capitals about the resumption of the German-Soviet dialogue for Bonn to be able to afford to cast doubts on the Federal Republic being firmly committed to the West.

Yet the visit was nonetheless well-timed even though that might seem to be a contradiction.

Unburdened by difficult political issues the Chancellor was able to concentrate, in embarking on a fresh start with Moscow, on problems of practical cooperation in the economy, the arts, environmental pro*tection and science and technology.*

All that remains is to eliminate the last remaining obstacles to the permanent inclusion of West Berlin in the wide range of agreements pending.

There is a strong likelihood of the two Foreign Ministers arriving at a satisfactory formula for the future. Mr Gorbachov is under serious domestic pressure. He badly needs to modernise the Soviet Union and knows he will be unable to do so without Western assistance.

On Berlin he must, of course, bear the GDR in mind, but he will also [illegible] that economic assistance from the Federal Republic to develop the Soviet consumer goods industry will not be permanently available unless he is prepared to adopt a pragmatic approach on West Berlin.

Chancellor Kohl did not bring much home with him. All disputed issues were raised yet, oddly enough, set aside. What *matters is, nonetheless, that he was there.*

The distance between Bonn and Moscow had grown substantially, so much so that the *Chancellor* risked losing touch with the East-West dialogue.

He is now back in the running and has joined in the debate.

Jörg Bischoff
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 27 October 1988)



Getting closer? Gorbachov (left) and Kohl in Moscow.
(Photo: [illegible])

IN THIS ISSUE

Deals signed: now it's wait and see

Chancellor Kohl drew up an encouraging balance sheet of his political talks in the Soviet capital.

There can be no doubt that his visit was an important event in German-Soviet relations and might have given them fresh impetus.

At times in Moscow, there were even touches of euphoria.

Only now will we see whether the stated ambition of improving cooperation in all sectors will be put into practice and life will be breathed into the agreements signed in Moscow (see story page 2).

Early next summer the Soviet leader will pay the Federal Republic a return visit. *Both sides then plan to issue a* joint political declaration; both Moscow and Bonn view the two visits as one.

This declaration will show in greater detail whether a distinctive mark has been made on what is purported to have been a new leaf in German-Soviet relations.

We may regard Herr Kohl's long-overdue visit to the Soviet Union to have been a success in making a big contribution to an improvement in relations between Bonn and Moscow.

It laid the groundwork for greater confidence on both sides without ongoing differences of opinion on disarmament, on Berlin and on the German Question being discussed with any prospect of an approximation of viewpoints, let alone of differences being reconciled.

The first visit ever paid to the Soviet Union by a Bonn Defence Minister was a contribution toward confidence-building the importance of which must be highly rated.

Given the burdens imposed by the past, Defence Minister Rupert Scholz's address to a Soviet military academy, the visit he paid Soviet troops and his meeting with Soviet Defence Minister Dimitri Yasov did indeed mark a milestone in the emergence of a new quality in relations between both countries.

The extent of improvements in practical cooperation despite continued differences *of opinion on fundamental political issues* will largely depend on the progress Mr Gorbachov makes with his reform policy in the Soviet state, society and economy.

As he himself noted during Chancellor Kohl's visit, there will be difficulties and junctures when developments come to a head. So patience will be needed on all sides.

The Soviet Union needs Western assistance, especially cash in plenty, to *modernise its economy.*

German industry, which is already doing good business with the Soviet Union, expects from what may be an imminent improvement in political ties even an more favourable groundwork for further trade.

In both politics and economics, as Chancellor Kohl put it in Moscow, realism and optimism must be combined.

Hans Jörg Sottorf
(Handelsblatt, Dusseldorf, 27 October 1988)

■ EAST-WEST RELATIONS

Bonn and Moscow sign cooperation agreements on several fronts

Space medicine and research into the solar system are two areas where the Federal Republic and the Soviet Union are to cooperate under one of several pacts signed in Moscow. They will also cooperate in other areas such as atoms for peace, health and agricultural research. This article appeared in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*.

The German-Soviet Agreement on Scientific and Technological Cooperation in the Sector of Research and Exploitation of Space for Peaceful Purposes will join the ranks of existing sectoral agreements: on atoms for peace, health and agricultural research.

They are covered by the framework agreement on scientific and technological cooperation signed in 1986. Negotiations on the space agreement were conducted by the German Federal Research Ministry and the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

A programme of activities has yet to be finalised pending clarification of technical and financial details in respect of the individual projects proposed.

The treaty will not come into force until agreement has been reached on a list of projects.

Outer space

The space agreement mentions as sectors for cooperation research into solar-terrestrial relations, space astronomy and astrophysics, research into the solar system, the planets and comets, atmospheric research from outer space, basic research into zero gravity, space biology and space medicine.

Agreement on other sectors is to be reached from time to time.

Scientific and technological cooperation is to include a West German astronaut taking part in a Soviet space mission.

Article 3 of the agreement states that: "This treaty reaffirms the fundamental agreement earlier reached between the appropriate authorities of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union on participation by a specialist from the other side in a mission by a Soviet spaceship and a Soviet orbital station.

"The terms on which this mission are to be implemented will be separately agreed by the appropriate authorities of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

This provision had presented difficulties until the last moment in that the wording first proposed by the Soviet Union would, at least in theory, have been open to interpretation as meaning that an astronaut from Berlin was ruled out as a potential German participant in a Soviet space mission.

The agreement provides for a joint panel of experts. It also notes that: "Each side will meet the cost of the commitments it has undertaken as part of the cooperation.

"The treaty is not limited to projects undertaken on a commercial basis. It lays down provisions governing the passing on of information and data to third parties and liability and medical care in the exchange of scientists and specialists."

The treaty extends to Berlin in accordance with the usual provisions of the "Frank-Falin Clause." It will run for an initial five years and then for an unlimited period, subject to cancellation.

It will not involve using the services of the other party to the treaty in exchange for cash payment. The aim will be to make non-cash contributions on a cooperative basis.

Atomic energy

The Joint Declaration by the Federal Minister of Research and Technology of the Federal Republic of Germany and the State Committee for the Use of Atomic Energy of the Soviet Union on Cooperation in Increasing the Coolant Temperature of the High-Temperature Reactor is to be accompanied by an agreement between German firms and the Soviet Union. A high-temperature reactor to be built in the Soviet Union is to be developed with a view to generating heat for industrial use.

This project may be linked to a research and development programme.

Government-subsidised research cooperation will subject to industrial commitments being honoured and to goods and services being supplied and payment made in accordance with the terms agreed.

The cost of accompanying research will be met by the parties concerned. German Research Minister Heinz Riesenhuber plans to limit the costs.

It is not yet clear how far they will be covered by the DM35m a year envisaged in medium-term financial planning as being spent on accompanying research in connection with the high-temperature reactor or whether a new budget appropriation will be required.

The Moscow declaration means that the research project is to be included in the list of programmes to be implemented as part of the German-Soviet agreement on the use of atomic energy.

Incidents on the high seas

The Treaty on the Prevention of Incidents on the High Seas deals with the special requirements of naval and air forces holding manoeuvres.

It provides for regulations governing manoeuvres by warships, for the exchange of information in the event of incidents and for regular consultations between the Bundesmarine and the Red Fleet. It will particularly apply to the Baltic, where units on manoeuvre meet almost daily.

The significance of the treaty in terms of military policy is that incidents are to be referred to bodies set up to deal with them and that the risk of escalation can be eliminated at the "working level."

Regular consultations are to contribute toward mutual understanding and to promote confidence.

Culture

The First Programme of Cultural Cooperation between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union for the Years 1988 and 1989 is an annex to the German-Soviet cultural relations agreement of 1973.

The two-year programme is aimed at intensifying and expanding cultural relations with special emphasis on university and academic research, education, vocational training, further training, archives, the stage, music and the performing arts, books and publishing, films, radio and TV.

It will also include an exchange of artists, young people, sport and tourism.

The 1973 agreement includes the "Frank-Falin Clause" which provides for the treaty to apply to Berlin in accordance with the 1971 Four-Power Agreement.

The two-year programme incorporates an exchange of "loose leaves" including Berlin guest performance and exhibition projects.

The names of Berlin participants are arranged alphabetically and marked with an asterisk referring to a footnote that again mentions the Four-Power Berlin Agreement.

A Soviet project that is to take place in Berlin is also listed on a "loose leaf."

Foodstuffs

The Agreement on the Promotion of Cooperation between Enterprises, Companies and Organisations in the Foodstuffs Industry deals with the manufacture and processing of various foodstuffs.

It refers to products made from raw materials containing starch, to children's food, to sausages, meat and canned goods.

The forms of cooperation envisaged range from the exchange of experts to the signing of long-term contracts to build, enlarge and modernise industrial plant.

Mention is also made of developing manufacturing processes, of manufacturing packaging materials and of supplying refrigeration equipment.

Private enterprise projects of this kind will be promoted by an exchange of trainees, while business opportunities open to companies and their representations are to be facilitated.

Half a DM3bn loan to the Soviet Union raised by a consortium of German banks is to benefit projects covered by the agreement on the foodstuffs industry.

Nuclear technology and radiation protection

The Agreement on the Security of Nuclear Technology and Radiation Protection consists of two parts.

The first deals with implementation of the provisions of the 1986 Vienna agreement, reached in the wake of Chernobyl, on early notification of nuclear accidents.

Article 2 reads as follows: "Whenever an accident occurs on the territory of one side in connection with nuclear installations as a result of which radioactive substances are or may be released on to the other side's territory that might be relevant to it from the viewpoint of radioactive safety, the first-named side will immediately and directly notify the other and supply it with such information as is available."

It will also notify the other side whenever an extremely high radiation count is registered that has originated elsewhere but may have consequences for the party notified.

The second part of the agreement deals with the exchange of information and experience in respect of safe operation of nuclear installations.

This particularly includes the exchange of technical information by which to assess the possible consequences of an accident and to arrive at such decisions as may be necessary to protect the public and the environment.

Such information is to be exchanged at least once a year. A list of nuclear plant including the nature and extent of the information to be provided is to be agreed in an exchange of notes.

Consultations on all further data and on issues relating to international cooperation must be held at least every other year.

The environment

The environmental agreement commits both sides to make experience gained in using the latest technology mutually available and to avoid undesirable consequences for mankind and nature.

Items mentioned are the prevention of atmospheric pollution, the prevention of pollution of inland waterways and the sea, nature and soil conservation, the treatment of solid household and industrial waste, the prevention of accidents with serious consequences for the environment, monitoring the state of the environment and investigating the ecological consequences of its pollution.

The two-year programme provides for 25 meetings of German and Soviet experts, alternating between the Federal Republic and the Soviet Union.

Experience in ascertaining the situation at any given time is to be exchanged and individual programmes to deal with specific forms of environmental pollution are to be drawn up.

At these gatherings joint developments and research projects "on the perimeter of environmental measures" are to be reviewed and implemented.

Joint expeditions on research vessels and a symposium on the scientific basis for a global survey of the state of the environment are also planned.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 26 October 1988)

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■ EURO ELECTION

FDP goes for veteran to head campaign


A third career at 65 . . . Rüdiger von Wechmar. (Photo: AP)

The FDP has made the clever move of selecting one of the most experienced and respected diplomats in German post-war history, Rüdiger von Wechmar, to head its list of candidates in the European Parliament elections next June.

At the age of 65, Wechmar has courage enough to make a new start in the political arena at the end of a successful professional career.

He has the kind of self-confidence which could take his party back into Europe after it failed by 0.2 percentage points to get over the five per cent electoral hurdle at the last European elections in 1984.

Von Wechmar is Bonn's ambassador in London. He formerly headed the Bonn government's Press and Information Office during the social-liberal coalition.

His career has been one continuous success story. He was born in Berlin in 1923. After the war, he began a successful journalistic career.

After working for several newsagencies, he became the Vienna correspondent for the German TV channel ZDF; then he became deputy head of the Federal Press Office (as deputy at the time to Conny Ahlers) in 1969; and subsequently he succeeded Ahlers.

He was responsible, as it were, for selling the politics of the Brandt-Scheel government to the media.

When Helmut Schmidt became Chancellor in 1974, he wanted an SPD man, so Klaus Bölling got the job and Wechmar had to "settle" for the post of ambassador to the United Nations in New York.

He then became the first German president of the World Security Council and later on of the United Nations General Assembly.

Then he was for two years Bonn's ambassador in Rome and five years so far has been ambassador in London.

Why does someone like this want a new challenge instead of retirement?

His career is inseparably linked with the social-liberal coalition and he now intends running as a candidate for a party whose new chairman, Count Otto Lambsdorff, will commit it to continuing in the conservative-liberal coalition.

Von Wechmar regards a change of coalition partners as a legitimate act by the FDP. He believes that the party should have the task of creating majorities.

"In our political landscape," he remarked, "and with our electoral laws there must be a group which enables a people's party to govern the country."

He first turned to the FDP after the Freiburg party conference in 1971, where he was impressed by the way the party coped with its problems.

He thinks the same broad spectrum of views within the party is guaranteed today by the heterogeneous team of Lambsdorff and Adam-Schwaetzer and by a presidium which has Frau Hamm-Brücher as its social policy figurehead.

Wechmar is convinced that Count Lambsdorff knows his limitations within this situation.

He also feels sure that he will have sufficient scope in the European Parliament to say what he wants without being muzzled by his party.

Von Wechmar was never an easy diplomat, whether for his host countries or for Bonn. He normally conceals his obstinacy behind a conciliatory manner and combines his doggedness with powers of persuasion.

As president of the Security Council and UNGeneral Assembly he represented more than just German interests.

By moving out of his ambassador's office he demonstrated his independence as a diplomatic mediator, a gesture which did not damage Germany's international reputation.

In London, von Wechmar gets on well with Margaret Thatcher, herself no easy partner. He is even more closely acquainted with her husband Denis.

But her repeated criticisms of Europe are unlikely to be popular with von Wechmar. He is a devout pro-European.

Yet he is able to contain his disappointment or express criticism in a positive light: "There have already been many instances where she has jumped onto a departing train at the last moment and has quickly worked her way forward to the driver's cab."

Von Wechmar feels Mrs Thatcher is unusually adaptable and willing to learn; and he hopes her new representatives in Brussels — she has just replaced the two "European-minded" commissioners by "Thatcherites" — will soon feel at home in the environment.

He claims that everyone who works in Brussels becomes a true European if they stay long enough. He doesn't need to be "Europeanised" in this way. He is such a convinced European that he expects to clash occasionally with his own government.

This rounds off the answer to the question of why he has decided to begin a new political career.

In his own words: "The changes which will occur in 1992 after the creation of a gigantic internal market, comparable with that of the USA, the elimination of customs barriers and controls, and the emergence of a European awareness are an important turning-point in the lives of each individual. This is a tremendous challenge, and I want to face up to it."

Few politicians in Strasbourg will have as much foreign policy experience as von Wechmar. He compares his new task with the period between 1974 and 1981 as Bonn's man at the UN.

He believes it was the culmination of his career up to that time, even though he dislikes comparing his careers.

But before doing anything new, there is the European elections to win. He thinks he will be heading a delegation of no more than five or six deputies.

His party will be grateful if he is successful. But it doesn't look as if he's going to all this trouble just for the party's sake.

Reinhart Häcker

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 24 October 1988)

A Social Democrat candidate who altered an image

Gerd Walter has been chosen as the SPD's leading candidate for next year's direct elections to the European Parliament.

He is well-known in north Germany and at the European assembly, where he has been a member nine years.

But he is still an unknown quantity in most parts of Germany.

In 1979, Walter, then aged 30, was elected to the European Parliament as representative of the SPD in Schleswig-Holstein.

At a time when the European Parliament had the reputation of being an old people's home for veteran MPs Walter clearly stepped out of line.

Today, he can rightly claim that he has already walked his legs off in this extremely complicated field of politics, where more decisions are taken than national parliaments care to believe.

Last year he was elected regional chairman of the ruling SPD in Schleswig-Holstein.

Walter will be officially placed on top of the SPD's list of candidates for the European elections next year at a conference this month.

But the SPD are unlikely to be looking forward to the election. German voters yawn when European elections come round.

Although the idea of a united Europe is still regarded as an idealistic value the interest in its realisation declines as the problems involved become clearer.

Admittedly, a lot of voters have heard about the European internal market and support the idea of an barrier-free economic union.

But many are afraid that growing competition from outside jeopardise traditional political achievements, especially in the social policy field.

Party strategists have realised that one of the election campaign slogans, that the country must "get fit for Europe", has its problems.

The ambivalence towards a more united Europe is reflected in the findings of an Infratest survey for the SPD national executive.

Most of the 3,000 in this representative sample supported the idea of an internal market in reply to questions which emphasised that the creation of this market would improve opportunities for German industry.

Support declines, however, if the questions expressly point to the benefits for other countries.

Over two thirds (68 per cent) of the respondents are strongly in favour of the elimination of border checks.

If confronted with the argument that border checks are essential to control the spread of drug trafficking and terrorism misgivings are shared by an equally high percentage (65 per cent).

Roughly nine months before the election day the SPD is above all faced by a mobilisation problem.

The party which has traditionally spearheaded European internationalism has difficulty today persuading its supporters to go to the polls for Europe.

This has nothing to do with the fact that the supporters of the conservative parties are much better informed about the election than SPD supporters.

The CDU/CSU voters are also more interested in the election, feel that it is important and are already discernibly more willing to cast their votes when the time comes.

Young voters pose a problem to all parties.

The anti-European sentiment in traditional working-class areas may also prove a problem for the SPD.

The survey revealed some interesting results with regard to the question of being a "convinced European": 27 per cent of the supporters of conservative parties in the sample classed themselves as "convinced Europeans", but only 19 per cent of the SPD supporters.

Almost twice as many SPD supporters described themselves as opponents of Europe than CDU/CSU supporters (nine compared to five per cent).

The SPD's leading candidate Walter knows only too well that prejudice has deep roots.

Nevertheless, he will try to capitalise on his nine-year experience as a Euro-MP wherever possible.

One of his favourite arguments is that people in the Federal Republic of Germany don't realise how much of their daily lives is already determined by decisions taken in Brussels (or between national governments) without the Bundestag in Bonn being able to influence them.

He urges the Social Democrats to fight this election campaign as if it were a general election campaign.

He feels that the SPD will be able to focus on many of its traditional issues especially on environmental protection and the retention of social policy achievements.

These issues illustrate one of the key problems accompanying a growing convergence in the European Community.


Still unknown quantity . . . Gerd Walter. (Photo: Poly-Press)

The more liberal a market is, the more attractive those countries become for industry in which production is unrestrained, and preferably not subject to strict environmental or social policy regulations.

As an SPD campaigner, therefore, Walter interprets "getting Germany fit for Europe" as meaning a campaign to safeguard the achievements of the welfare state in Germany and taking these achievements into the internal market.

He also hopes that people will realise that the status of the European Parliament must be enhanced in the interests of a democratic legitimation of European decisions.

He stresses that the SPD wants more Europe, "but not at the expense of less democracy."

Martin E. Süskind

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 22 October 1988)

■ POLITICS

A Land minister resigns over false statement

Hannoversche Allgemeine

Wilfried Hasselmann was right to tender his resignation as Interior Minister and Premier Ernst Albrecht of Lower Saxony was right to accept it without delay.

The Lower Saxon CDU leader was no longer acceptable as a Cabinet Minister from the moment he had been proved to have made a false statement on 8 April to a commission of inquiry set up by the state assembly.

He claimed to have had "no social contacts and links" with shareholders in the Lower Saxon casino and had "been offered no gifts or favours of any kind."

In fact he had even accepted a personal gift from Marian Felsenstein, the casino's *managing director.*

That needn't mean that Herr Hasselmann deliberately lied to the commission. It all happened years ago and his memory may have failed him. But a false statement *can still not be excused.*

He had enough time earlier this year in which to prepare for the questions he was likely to be asked by the parliamentary commission.

He was well able to recollect what had happened and to check documents to make sure he made no mistakes.

He failed to do so and must now face the consequences.

In recent months Herr Albrecht, Herr Hasselmann and other CDU politicians were understandably reluctant to face the music in respect of what were made out to be political affairs in Hanover. There could be no denying that they were partly the result of a campaign launched mainly by two Hamburg magazines, *Stern* and *Der Spiegel*, to destabilise the Lower Saxon government in much the same way as they had destabilised the predecessor of the present government in neighbouring Schleswig-Holstein.

There were many dubious features, such as the statements by "prosecution witness" Laszlo Maria von Rath, to which Christian Democratic politicians could rightly take objection.

Facts lately unearthed about practices *by the Lower Saxon security authorities,* practices verging on the criminal, could hardly be blamed on Herr Hasselmann as Interior Minister. They dated back to before he assumed responsibility for the *portfolio.*

Yet he had clearly been unable to keep his house in order, giving rise to justifiable doubts whether he was the right man for the job.

The discovery that he had made a false statement to the state assembly's commission of inquiry has now sealed his fate.

That is hard on a man who has devoted his political life entirely to his home state, Lower Saxony, and to the Lower Saxon CDU, and creditably so, it is only fair to *recall.*

It is also hard on the CDU, which he held together in many difficult situations and kept on the move with his unerring optimism. But there are limits to what can be *tolerated in politics. To exceed them* is to risk punishment.

His resignation has certainly hit the Lower Saxon CDU at a nadir. The SPD Opposition is understandably keen to oust the entire government, which has held on to power with a majority of one since the last general election.

The SPD is well aware that its motion calling on the state assembly to agree to its own dissolution stands no chance of approval.

The next step the Social Democrats have promised to take is more important. Their leader, Gerhard Schröder, will stand for Prime Minister in what is known as a constructive vote of *no-confidence.*

It too will only stand a chance of succeeding if individual members of the present CDU-FDP coalition cross the floor, much as was the case nearly 13 years ago when Herr Albrecht was elected Prime Minister.

The Social Democrats are evidently fascinated by the idea that there might be a repetition of January 1976, but with Gerhard Schröder being elected Prime Minister, not Ernst Albrecht.

Yet it would be strange if there were to be a repetition of the surprise outcome of the January 1976 vote.

It would only be conceivable if members of the present coalition, Free Democrats in particular, were to feel that Herr Albrecht's government had reached the end of the road and stood no chance of surviving.

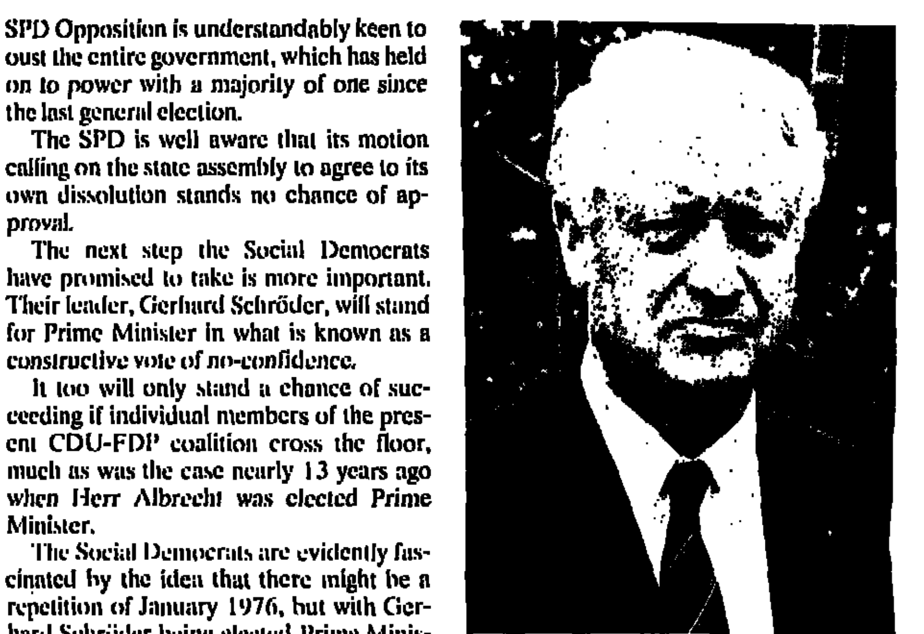
We shall see in the weeks ahead whether this is the case, and it will depend mainly on Herr Albrecht himself whether this feeling gains currency.

If he were to make do with appointing a new Interior Minister and not to show that he plans to make a fresh start, anything might happen.

Now Herr Hasselmann has resigned it *will be for the CDU to show whether it is* in a position not only to retain power but to give Lower Saxon politics a much-needed fillip.

In this respect the Christian Democrats have yet to prove beyond reasonable doubt that they are equal to the task.

Wolfgang Wagner
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 26 October 1988)



Lower Saxon to the core... Wilfried Hasselmann. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Down comes the big Lower Saxon oak

Wilfried Hasselmann stood firm on the political stage in his native Low*er Saxony for a quarter of a century.* The Lower Saxon Oak, as he was dubbed for his vitality and popularity, has now been felled — arguably a fitting figure of speech for the farmer he is in private life.

He has resigned as Interior Minister and Deputy Premier 12 years after his dream of a CDU-led government in Lower Saxony came true. Whatever may be said of him, he was certainly Lower Saxon *to the core.*

He resigned over fresh allegations concerning improprieties in connection with the Bad Pyrmont casino, but he also came under fire in connection with police acti*vities.*

In both cases a commission of inquiry set up by the state assembly is looking into the allegations.

Herr Hasselmann will soon be retiring *from the party's helm too. His term as* Lower Saxon CDU leader runs until the next state assembly elections in two years' time.

Early last summer he refuted sugges*tions that he was considering early retire*ment, but he will surely be making way for another candidate to lead the party by 1990 at the latest, having led the CDU in Lower Saxony since 1968.

He was born in Celle on 23 July 1924. He went to school in Celle and then to agricultural college.

After the war and training on a number of farms he held office in the Young Farm*ers Association, of which he became* state chairman.

He took over the family farm in Nienburg, near Celle, in 1955. From 1962 to 1969 he was national chairman of the Young Farmers Association.

He joined the CDU in 1961 and was elected to the Lower Saxon state assembly in 1963. He has been a member ever since.

He was appointed Agriculture Minister in a coalition Cabinet in 1965.

After six years of hard work on the Opposition benches, mostly as CDU leader in the state assembly, his lifelong party-political dream came true.

In February 1976 Christian Democrat Ernst Albrecht was elected Prime Minister, and Wilfried Hasselmann served for 12 years as a member of Herr Albrecht's Cabinet. *dpa*

(Bremer Nachrichten, 26 October 1988)

Crisis puts CDU government under pressure to act

Political crises can become a law unto themselves, sweeping before them things that had seemed a safe distance away.

Interior Minister Hasselmann of Lower Saxony has been forced to resign even though he may have felt himself to be subjectively in the right.

Scandals he had "inherited" and affairs for which he had only himself to blame had assumed avalanche proportions.

Herr Hasselmann's resignation has not brought the avalanche to a halt, and Premier Albrecht has little time left to bring the ship back on course.

He must act swiftly and to the point, otherwise he may find the initiative has been wrested from him.

The Social Democrats have said they plan to move dissolution of the state assembly to pave the way for a constructive vote of no-confidence (which if it were approved would automatically mean SPD leader Gerhard Schröder took over as *Land* Premier).

So even now Herr Hasselmann has resigned Herr Albrecht will no longer be *able to make do with mere patching.*

Herr Albrecht is under pressure and Herr Hasselmann, whose name and policies were associated first with an affair, then with a crisis, will probably regret not having stepped down earlier this year when he could have done so showered with praise.

He has now had to resign as Interior Minister under growing Opposition pressure and on the advice of fellow-Christian Democrats. Some Christian Democrats will already be wondering how he can possibly hope to lead the CDU in the *1990* state assembly election campaign both credibly and as zestfully as ever.

Herr Albrecht plans to appoint a new Interior Minister in time for the next session of the state assembly on 9 November.

Given the problems his predecessor faced with the police and the intelligence agencies, he will probably need to be a fully-fledged lawyer.

So Justice Minister Walter Remmers, who has emerged from a personal trough and gained in influence as the crisis came to a head, might well be a suitable choice.

But that would mean a thorough Cabinet reshuffle, which would be inconceivable without the participation of the CDU's coalition partner, the Free Democrats.

The FDP may fear it will be dragged into the wake of a CDU decline, yet it has no real alternative.

The Free Democrats switched allegiance from the SPD to the CDU in 1976, with an interim spell in "constructive opposition" for appearance's sake.

They joined a new coalition led by Herr Albrecht in his glory days, but switching sides did them no good at the polls. After the 1978 state assembly elections they were out in the cold.

The Social Democrats, who new seem to have everything going their way, have just re-elected Gerhard Schröder as *their leader by an overwhelming majority* at a party conference in Cuxhaven.

Yet they face a mountain of problems, some of their own making. They cannot force the assembly to vote in favour of dissolution, not even with the support of the Greens.

If they were to succeed with a vote of constructive no-confidence (for which a single CDU or FDP floor-crosser would suffice), they would still not command a majority in the assembly.

*As for their aim of persuading the as*sembly to dissolve itself before the end of its four-year term, that is a remote prospect for self-evident reasons of a personal nature, arguably understand*able in the context of human weakness.*

No-one can expect an SPD assemblyman to vote himself out of office when he can be sure, now the Social Democrats have agreed to nominate a fixed percentage of women candidates, that will mean the end of his career in Hanover as a well-paid member of the Lower Saxon state assembly.

Otto Ehlers
(Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburg, 26 October 1988)

■ PERSPECTIVE

Weizsäcker speaks out on dispute over Third Reich

What difference does it make to us whether Auschwitz can be compared with the ruthless extermination of others?" *Richard von Weizsäcker asked.*

"Auschwitz is still singular. This is incontrovertible. And it won't be forgotten."

In general but unmistakable terms he expressed his personal view for the first *time on what has come to be known as the Historikerstreit*, or dispute between (German) historians.

He did so in his opening address to the Bamberg conference of the German His*torical Association.*

The 1986 dispute was mainly concerned with the aftermath of National Socialism and its contemporary relevance. A prime consideration was whether Auschwitz *was "singular" or "comparable" with* other events in history.

The study of history inadvertently threatened to be transformed into a process of relativisation.

*Herr von Weizsäcker long hesitated be*fore deciding to say anything about this "war by proxy," as Christian Meier called it in Bamberg.

Yet it could be the most effective and *most significant of his contributions tow*ard the contemporary intellectual and moral debate and the Federal Republic's quest for a vantage point.

He has sometimes hit the headlines with *personal interventions of this kind*, at times causing surreptitious disquiet, especially among other Christian Democrats.

For example at the height of the Hafenstrasse squat dispute in Hamburg a year *ago when he rang Mayor Klaus von Doh*nanyi.

And recently when he confirmed that he was seriously considering the appeals for pardons by ex-terrorists Angelika *Speitel and Peter-Jürgen Boock and* planned to see them personally despite widespread protest, including objections by the Chief Public Prosecutor and the CSU, Chancellor Kohl's Bavarian coalition part*ner.*

In the mid 1980s, there was a major public debate in which Herr von Weizsäcker took part, implicitly or explicitly.

*Had it not been for the debacle of Bit*burg, where Chancellor Kohl and President Reagan visited German war graves, had it not been for nationalist splinter parties and a revival of the "time to call it a day" *outlook, he would hardly have made* his memorable speech to mark the 40th anniversary of VE Day, 8 May 1945, since simply known as "The Speech."

As it was, it sounded like a personal response to public controversy. "The 8th of May 1945 was a day of liberation," he said. "We must not view 8 May 1945 separately and distinctly from 30 January 1933 (the day Hitler was appointed Reich Chancellor)." ... *"The genocide of the Jews,* however, is without example in history."

It is more than likely that historians such as Andreas Hillgruber, Ernst Nolte ("A Past that Will Not Perish"), Joachim *Fest or Michael Stürmer wrote their essays* in response to Herr von Weizsäcker's 1985 speech.

Jürgen Habermas, the social philosopher, responded to the reinterpretation of *the past.*

Herr von Weizsäcker has since noted that he had said it all in his speech. True enough, but it was his speech that really triggered the controversy.

An *intriguing detail was that* he is known to have greatly respected the previous opinions of several historians in the dispute, particularly Ernst Nolte.

*He recently quoted the novelist Sieg*fried Lenz, who was awarded this year's peace prize of the German Booksellers Association. Auschwitz, Lenz said, continues to be our concern.

German democracy is tried and trusted. Young people have good reason to feel self-confident and self-assured. But Auschwitz and what it stands for has "tended to increase in importance in the *consciousness of mankind in the decades* since the end of the war."

Yet at the same time Herr von Weizsäcker has sought to enlist the support of the historians who supplied the *stuff of which the dispute was made. No*-one, he feels, who seriously means what he says could publicly morally justify Nazi genocide.

Historical relationships have their place *and it is for historians to deal with them.* At the same time, however, "everything in history (is) singular."

Weizsäcker thus meets conservative historians half-way. He knows this and is happy to do so. Yet he also holds the historian Christian Meier in high esteem.

Singularity, says Professor Meier, is not merely the truism that every event in history occurs once and once only; he sees it as *meaning that the Germans "opened a new* chapter in the history of human atrocity."

The President would rather end the dispute than take sides. He now sees a first chance. His Bamberg speech may have the *desired effect.*

Wolfgang J. Mommsen, Meier's successor as president of the Historical Association, replied that it would be good "if all parties were to decide to live with it," it be*ing the situation as it is or, arguably, Herr* von Weizsäcker's speech.

He fulsomely praised the head of state's moral commitment, which had allowed all sides to hold and put all views that were *"objectively tenable."*

Initial approval was by Ernst Nolte, who said he must first study the speech in greater detail. He said he had never disputed the singularity of Auschwitz, but *comparisons must be drawn, especially as* comparisons mainly dealt with the distinctions.

In his latest book *Der europäische Bürgerkrieg* (The European Civil War), he *had not revised the view he espoused in* 1963 when he wrote that the Nazi genocide of the Jews was an atrocity that could be compared with nothing in history.

He did indeed feel there was a "causal *nexus" with Bolshevism. He was interested* in finding relationships but, he said, none of the parties to the dispute had wanted to relativise the moral judgement.

Rightly so, Herr von Weizsäcker is anx*ious to reconcile the parties without — in* line with the logic of his 8 May speech — yielding on any of his own views.

Yet no-one can want to be reconciled with every view that has been defended or *cemented in the past two years. Diametri*cally opposed views remain, including Ulrich Wehler's reference to clearing up Germany's past as though it were a matter of refuse disposal.

What may have grown clearer is that we stand to learn more by not thoughtlessly lifting the veil of what Christian Meier has called the "mythical quality" of National Socialism.

We might do better not to presumptu*ously claim Auschwitz was, as Dolf Stern*berger said, comprehensible.

Conversely, it would be a pity if the conflict were to congeal in rituals. "Mandatory anti-Fascism will not dig deep." Herr von Weizsäcker told historians in Bamberg. "Only a free inner attitude can generate true dismay." Anti-Fascism may not be mandatory in the Federal Republic, but he is right.

Not even among people who quote Auschwitz *in a ritual manner* does it lie at the heart of the quest for a personal vantage point solely because they feel Auschwitz was singular, or unique.

When young contemporary historians dealt, at a *recent conference of political* scientists, with the crucial part of the middle classes in Hitler's strategy to retain power, the impression was not that their debate merely relativised matters; it was *that what they had to say was getting us* somewhere.

The feeling was much the same in Bamberg when social historians submitted findings on social hygiene in the Weimar *Republic and racial hygiene in the Third* Reich.

If we were not to seek such lines of continuity and not to shed light on social processes and individual structures that led to National Socialism, *arguing* that it would be wrong to do so because that would call its singularity into question, we would be deprived of essential insights.

That was the reason for Martin Broszat's *plea, often misunderstood, for a his*torical treatment of the era.

Yet this is still to walk a tight-rope. M Rainer Lepsius noted at the sociologists' conference in Zürich how mass loyalty *had functioned under it.*

Moral indifference, he said, could become a "plausible behavioural strategy," no matter how appalling mass murder might have been and how morally inex*plicable in the Third Reich*

He needn't have added that he was not interested in presenting an apology. Suspicions of an attempt at relativisation do not come like a bolt out of the blue; they don't *occur in every case.*

They didn't arise when emigrés who had returned to Germany began to investigate the origins of the Nazis. They didn't arise as long as somebasic consensus existed.

"Back to Normal? — Or might we have learnt something special from the catastrophe?" is a question dealt with by Karl-Otto Apel, the Frankfurt philosopher, in a new book.

It tells a personal tale in describing how the experience of the Third Reich affected him and, evidently, led him to take up philosophy. Even more excitingly, Apel teaches the historians a lesson in respon*sibility as he sees it.*

He would like to know when "contemporaries of the German catastrophe" such as himself are expected to have opposed the "suggestion of normality."

He has no intention of making others benefit from the German experience; his aim is to draw up criteria of his own and to process his personal experience of recent German history.

The *Historikerstreit* could make progress in this direction. It would then emerge from the status of what Weizsäcker called an "insider discussion" and an "insider confrontation."

His postscript to the debate was intended to mediate. He sought to mediate in the Hafenstrasse squat in Hamburg. He hopes to serve as a broker in the issue of pardons for ex-terrorists.

That is how he sees his role as head of state; a role, as he once said, that is very *much to do with time and the present.*

But what he had to say at Bamberg was not the last word on the subject. It was not intended to be. Nor can it be.

Gunter Hofmann
(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 21 October 1988)



Meeting the people. President Weizsäcker in Bamberg where he made his speech. *(Photo: Emil Bauer)*

Origins of the argument

The so-called *Historikerstreit*, or historians' dispute, mentioned by Federal President Richard von Weizsäcker in his opening address to the German Historical Association in Bamberg, began with a June 1986 article by the historian Ernst Nolte in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung.*

In January 1987 the Zürich *Tages-Anzeiger* summarised his views: The writer wonders in this essay with the revealing title "A Past that Will Not Perish" whether the Nazis' atrocities were really as unique as all serious contemporary historians were almost uniformly agreed. Nolte's views were countered in July 1986 by the philosopher Jürgen Habermas in an article for *Die Zeit*, Hamburg, entitled "A Damages Settlement of a Kind." More and more historians joined in what in some cases was a heated dispute over whether the Nazis' crimes had been "singular," i.e. unique.

The course of the dispute was followed with keen interest at home and abroad and continues to interest a wider public. *AP*

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 13 October 1988)

More than 600 foreign workers returning to Germany after substantial stay in their native countries in the first half of this year were found at Bavarian border checkpoints to have been receiving unemployment benefit during their absence.

They are not entitled to dole money while they are away. People must be in a position to accept work if they are to qualify for welfare.

And the Federal Labour Office is coming under fire from many sides for what the government auditor says is a common practise.

The auditor says that labour exchanges, which are run by the Labour Office, should maintain closer contact with the unemployed.

The auditor said in a report that the exchanges do more to fulfil their task of regularly providing personal advice to the unemployed.

The fact that labour exchange often don't get in touch with unemployed people for up to a year was an opne invitation to abuse.

Many politicians in Bonn say such cases are just the tip of the iceberg.

Lucrative side-line jobs plus unemployment money are, in their eyes, an example of a widespread abuse of the principle of solidarity upon which the welfare system in Germany is based.

This puts the labour exchanges in a bad light. They are apprently doing little to improve the situation.

The Labour Office has often been accused recently of mismanagement and inefficiency.

The labour exchanges need more than just an injection of fresh funds: they need a *campaign to improve their image.*

A survey of personnel managers conducted by this newspaper confirmed that *small and medium-sized firms* are particularly unhappy about the services of the labour exchanges.

■ THE WORKFORCE

Official job exchanges 'open to abuse, are inefficient'

Unemployment benefit is paid out of an insurance scheme which both employees and employers pay into and which is administered by the Bundesanstalt für Arbeit (Federal Labour Office). The Labour Office runs about 150 labour exchanges around the country which have a monopoly on allocating unemployed people to jobs. It has been running into a lot of criticism. Abuse of the system is said to be widespread; some politicians say the monopoly ought to be removed; and some companies say the service they get from the Office is so bad that the institution ought to be scrapped altogether. Here Heinz Stüwe and Peter J. Velte look at the issues for, respectively, *Die Welt* and *Stuttgarter Nachrichten.*

According to a survey by the Lower Saxon Institute for Small and Medium-Sized Businesses, *54 per cent of firms in* this category have given up expecting good employees to be placed by labour exchanges; 68 per cent of the respondents even feel that labour exchanges could be done away with altogether.

Is the labour exchange a poor public institution?

Up to now the trade union and management representatives involved in the Labour Office's self-administration system disagree that the institution is superfluous.

They lay down the administrative stipulations, and they are the addressees for any appeal to eliminate abuses or track down the free-riders of the welfare system.

The new social security card may help reduce the number of people *working* and at the same time picking up dole money.

Another aspect which should also be discussed is whether advanced training and retraining could be financed by loans instead of subsidies in an effort to cut down the "bandwagon effects" and increase personal motivation.

The main accusation levelled against labour exchanges is that they merely administer unemployment rather than lower it.

The president of the Federal Labour Office, Heinrich Franke, has pointed out his House's achievements.

Since 1980 the duration of job vacancies has been almost halved from 9.4 weeks to just under five weeks.

Of the roughly 1.8 million vacancies registered during the course of 1987 70 per cent were filled by persons recommended by a labour exchange.

A total of 1.28 million people were placed in permanent jobs; 930,000 of these were previously unemployed. These figures clearly reveal a dilemma. The labour exchanges have to rely on the vacancies reported.

They are unable, however, to provide the personnel-seeking firms with the desired market transparency.

The firms don't only want those persons included in their selection who just happen to be unemployed.

On the contrary, unemployment is still viewed — whether justified or not — as a personal failure.

Unemployment gets applicants off to the worst possible start.

A personnel manager, who is always on the look-out for the best man or the best woman, is more likely to consider the successful specialised personnel working *for* rival firms rather than the unemployed persons sent by the labour exchange.

The labour exchanges could improve their image, therefore, by placing more *people who are not unemployed or who* simply wish to change their jobs.

If more and more firms start looking for skilled workers at the labour exchanges this opens up greater opportunities for the unemployed in general.

A trial run of the Job Information Service (SIS) shows that helping people to help themselves can be effected without any great increase in personnel.

Interested parties can single out vacancies *on a computer screen and then ring* up the employer themselves. This improves contact with the firms concerned.

The labour exchanges should not be afraid of selecting key areas of job placement activity, for example, skilled labour.

Firms do not expect a labour exchange to be a department store with a full range of products.

Heinz Stüwe

(Die Welt, Bonn, 27 October 1988)

Confidence in the job placement abilities of public labour exchanges is declining.

A survey of 750 firms by the Institut der Deutschen Wirtschaft showed that labour exchanges play a secondary role in finding staff.

The survey revealed that 37 of jobs were filled through newspaper advertisements and only 19 per cent through labour exchanges.

The conservative union (CDU/CSU) feels that the job placement monopoly of *the Labour Office should be ended.*

Party economic experts say the monopoly, which has been held since 1923, is outdated.

The economic policy spokesman of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group in the Bundestag, Matthias Wissmann, insists that "in particular, new, and original ideas *and* initiatives are essential." He believes that competition is the answer.

In the CDU's Federal Economic Committee demands *have* been forwarded to fight unemployment with the increased assistance of trade unions and employers rather than by more regulation.

The considerable restraint shown towards labour exchanges by industry is mainly due to two factors.

Many firms are convinced that unemployed persons who try to get a job themselves are more motivated; and labour exchanges have been generally called in by *firms looking for unskilled rather than* skilled labour.

A recent survey in the Stuttgart district revealed that only half of the job vacancies were reported to labour exchanges.

This would also explain the current discrepancy between the official unemployment statistics, which list only 200,000 vacancies, and the allegedly much greater demand by industry for skilled manpower.

The Labour Promotion Act (Ar-

Changes to the system are recommended

beitsförderungsgesetz) does provide for a *weakening of the Federal Labour Office's* job placement monopoly under certain circumstances.

The Federal Labour Office is already empowered to commission "*institutions* or private persons" with job *placement*.

Wissmann suggests *splitting* the job placement system into three parts.

The first part would comprise job placement by public labour exchanges in its already existing form and free of charge.

Private job placement advisers should then be allowed to operate alongside the public system.

Clear guidelines would have to be laid down, however, to prevent any abusives practices.

Wissmann also suggests that the remuneration of the private job placement advisers should be regulated in a kind of fee scale, comparable with the Federal Fee Scale for lawyers.

In order to prevent discrimination by such private job placement agencies against hard-to-place job-seekers Wiss*mann recommends an incentive* in the form of a bonus for the job adviser to be financed by the special levy imposed on employers who do not take on a *certain* percentage of severely handicapped persons (Ausgleichsabgabe).

As the third part of the system, organisations should be allowed to function as job placement institutions.

Peter J. Velte

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 19 October 1988)

■ THE ECONOMY

Private consumption, private investment, help boost growth beyond predictions

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Autumn is the season for economic forecasts, the time of year at which research and company, Ministry and *industrial association economists outline* their views on the economic outlook for the year ahead.

Almost all the forecasts for 1989 that have appeared so far expect next year to be a further year of steady economic growth, with most experts predicting real growth of between one and a half and two per cent.

That may be a lower growth rate than this year's, yet despite the expected growth rate having been halved there are no signs of a recession in the offing, or so the government's economists say.

The real growth rate this year seems sure to exceed three per cent.

Even the Bundesbank in Frankfurt, which usually errs on the side of restraint, refers in its latest monthly report to an "unexpectedly favourable cyclical trend."

The Ifo Institute in Munich says there has been a perceptible improvement in the tenor of enterpreneurial opinion on the state of the economy.

The statistics also tell a straightforward story. In August 1988 industrial output was 5.5 per cent up on the previous year *after seasonal adjustment.*

The production figures of electricity and gas utilities were down 2.5 per cent, while mining output was down 3.5 per cent, but these figures were offset by the building trades (7.5 per cent up) and manufacturing industry (6.5 per cent up).

This change in mainstays is a hallmark of the present economic upswing.

Private consumption has increasingly *been joined by private investment*, described by a Frankfurt broker as a "classic mainstay" of the German economy, *as a* cornerstone of the boom.

The construction industry has benefited from this investment after spending years on the sunless side of what has been a lengthy but low-key economic upswing.

Günther Herion, president of the construction industry association, expects output this year to be up four per cent in the wake of a steady increase in commercial orders.

As private housebuilding is on the in*crease too, the prospect of the German* construction industry earning profits has improved markedly despite sluggish public investment due to the local authorities' shortage of cash.

Degab, the Frankfurt investment broking firm mentioned earlier, expects the construction industry's profits this year to be 10 per cent up on average.

Despite a slight decline in economic growth, the industry's profits could continue to increase at much the same rate next year, bearing in mind that part of this year's domestic business will not be *reflected in companies' earnings until* 1989.

The beneficiaries of this year's economic upswing will also include steelmakers, who report brisk business after years in the doldrums.

The unexpectedly swift increase in demand for steel is not limited to Germany. It has occurred in nearly all steel-producing countries.

The European Commission expects raw steel output in the European Community to total 133 million tonnes this year, or roughly six per cent more than *in 1987.*

Yet the experts expect demand to decline from the end of this year. Berliner Bank economists expect German steel output to decline by about two per cent next year. Degab analysts expect *German steelmakers' profits to decline* by roughly 10 per cent.

Encouraging economic trends have begun to make their mark on the labour market even though they have yet to make any serious inroads on unemployment.

Figures compiled by the Federal Labour Office, Nuremberg, show unemployment in September 1988 to have declined by 67,200 in relation to the August figures to 2.1 million, or 72,000 fewer registered unemployed than in September 1987.

At the same time the number of people employed, 26.3 million, was 144,000 up on September 1987.

Heinrich Franke, president of the Federal Labour Office, says the reason why there has been no perceptible decline in unemployment is the steady increase in the size of the labour market.

Newcomers to the job market, he notes, include baby boom school-leavers, women and ethnic German migrants from the East Bloc.

Consumer prices are continuing to hold their own, with the slightest of up*ward trends. In September the inflation* increased to 1.4 per cent from 1.2 per cent in August.

Economic report

of the economic research institutes

	1987	1988	1989 (estimate)
Growth in %	+1.8	+3.5	+2
Unemployment in millions	2.23	2.25	2.30
Price increases in %	+0.5	+1.5	+2.5

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As the Bundesbank has succeeded in keeping money supply growth to within *reach of the corridor for which it had* targeted — between three and six per cent — experts feel there is a better chance of the upswing not being accompanied by fears of inflation that will lead to a damper being placed upon it.

Next year may prove even better than the initial forecasts. Orders in hand certainly seem to justify an optimistic outlook.

According to the Federal Economic Affairs Ministry orders in hand reported by manufacturing industry in August were five per cent up on July after sea*sonal adjustment*

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, [illegible] October 1988)

Economic forecasters regularly start *to rustle their paperwork when au*tumn leaves begin to fall. You have to admire their pluck.

In recent years their forecasts have fallen wide of the mark, yet economic research institutes still untiringly try to work out from today's trends and tendencies the economic facts and figures of the year ahead.

They can hope to do so as long as the economy stays on a more or less even keel.

If, in contrast, something unforeseen such as an environmental catastrophe, a *war or "merely" an international stock* exchange crash occurs, as it did a year ago, then all their work is so much waste paper.

Reliable figures are only ever available for the past, and never for the future. Anyone who forgets this fact will succumb to the magic of figures.

Forecasts, right or wrong, un-

Falling autumn statistics amid the leaves

doubtedly influence the decisions reached by entrepreneurs, trade unions, consumers and politicians. Benefit can be derived from the autumn round of economic forecasts as long as the limits to forecasts are borne in mind.

This having been said, the pundits are agreed that next year will be the seventh successive year of economic growth.

At the same time they sound a warning note, arguing with cool logic against the "zigzag course" of a policy based on first cutting some taxes, then increasing others and *finally* (just in time for the next general election, incid*entally) promising to cut still other* taxes.

This is all planned at a time when the purchasing power of private households is slowly but surely being eroded by higher prices, rent increases and higher health costs in the wake of health service reforms.

Yet wage increases are not the solution, as the pundits — sad to say — rightly point out. Wages are costs, and *corresponding price increases would be* promptly reflected in the cost of living.

If, on the other hand, proposed tax increases were to be scrapped, that would make sound economic sense. It would be advisable from the labour market viewpoint and tenable in terms of finance policy, given that tax revenue from existing sources is proving more bountiful than expected.

(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 25 October 1988)

■ BUSINESS

Lock, stock and barrel full of security tricks

There is no shortage of refined innovations in the burglar-proofing industry for private house and business premises.

Exhibitors at the 8th International Security Fair in Essen claim that their highly sophisticated electronic gadgetry is capable of sharply reducing burglary.

But installed it must be. Yet architects and owners don't like including expensive security devices. Equipment that is used is usually fitted afterwards.

Germans spend about DM7.5bn a year protecting their property. This is more than double the losses *caused by break-ins and theft.*

All kinds of devices were bought — from the ordinary lock to the highly sophisticated video control system.

The Bundespost, the German post office, wants to get in on this market.

During the Essen fair, it presented its new telemetry and remote-control service, TEMEX (Telemetry Exchange), with which it hopes to not only guarantee security but also to make sure the washing-machine is switched off, the deep freeze monitored and dinner ready on time.

The system's signals are transmitted through the telephone network, bypassing the line for calls and are picked up by a receiver in a central exchange.

Subscribers will be able to ring up the *telemonitoring service from a restaurant* or from their office to make sure the cooker is switched on, the front door bolted or the gas meter read.

The regional headquarters of the security corps, the fire brigade and the Red Cross can then see on their computer screens where the trouble is and then set off to check the problem.

40,000 danger-alarm systems have probably already been installed in the roughly 120 officially recognised security corps and emergency call headquarters in Germany.

The good old house siren gave a false alarm and got on the neighbours' nerves more often than it interrupted burglars.

The cost of the monitoring service, however, are so high that TEMEX will, *at least to begin with, mainly be used for* danger alarms in cases of burglary and fire.

The provision of an emergency call link *including the tracing of the problem's* whereabouts by phone costs between DM50 and DM80 a month, and the motorised checking of the cause of the alarm another DM45 to DM75 an hour.

In view of these costs most people will prefer a decent insurance to an alarm device or an expensive security control system.

The exhibition of security gadgets in Essen presented a number of clever innovations which need not turn a person's home into a fortress.

One example was a special lock with two sets of keys. If the first set of keys is lost the lock is re-coded with the help of a mini-computer when the spare keys are inserted. The lost key no longer fits.

Electronic security devices are becoming more and more easy to install and more and more difficult for burglars to detect.



The key to the door becomes ever more subtle. (Photo: Poly-Press)

As a rule, their signals are now transmitted through the existing lighting network: extremely flat (five-millimetre) *image detectors sound the alarm if any* cutting is done or acids used, and entry controls the size of a stamp make a record of every time the key is used.

*There was no sign of the good old-*fashioned padlock in Essen. A fine distinction was drawn between "safety" and "security."

Despite a bolt a window, for example, is only then "relevant" at the security fair if it has a security film which makes it invisible at the push of a button or if the blinds are fitted with a special strap and moves up and down at the desired times.

And a gate is only relevant if it is monitored by a special mini-chip card, where the authorisation to use it may also have to be checked and "counter-checked."

The security equipment industry doesn't worry too much about the risk that potential burglars, thieves, industrial spies and arsonists may come along to the fair to see what's new.

Dietrich Grossmann, the project manager of the Security Fair, is convinced that small-time crooks will be deterred by the complicated technology and that professionals already get their information ex works or test their "home-made" *equipment themselves.*

Security expects find it difficult to understand why architects and builder-owners are so averse to installing secur*ity devices while houses are being built.*

According to the chairman of the trade fair council, Helmuth Ristow, the outside door from the cellar to the garden is still very often a wooden one.

It looks as if people are more willing to invest in building an open hearth rather than in the most basic security equipment.

"Architects build houses as if there were no burglars around," said Ristow.

The norm for more burglar-proof doors and windows to apply after 1989 may bring about a change of mind.

The exhibitors are also surprised about the lack of interest shown by groups whose jobs might be expected to trigger interest in security technology.

The number of visitors from the insurance industry, for example, is just as low as the number of detectives employed in the advisory technical service. They accounted for an estimated 20 per cent of all professional visitors to the fair.

In view of this lack of interest the TV pictures of the inspector who parks his unlocked car in the middle of a congested area seems almost pardonable.

Insurance companies, which had to pay out DM3.3bn for petty and serious theft and another DM400m for stolen car radios last year, should be more interested in the new products of the security industry.

Although they complain that they often have to insure objects which, in Britain for example, have long since been uninsurable (due to the lack of adequate *security provisions) household contents* insurers are pretty reserved when it comes to giving premium rebate to people who install security devices.

Only the fire insurance industry grant reductions of up to 50 per cent of the premium if the business premises are adequately protected against damage by fire and water.

In Holland some insurers regard the security risk in certain companies as "almost no longer insurable."

During a special conference at the fair, security consultant Peter F. Stoffel described how, following three major fires and damage amounting to roughly 40 million guilders, the wholesaling chain Makro was forced to accept the blackmailing demands of a group called "Revolutionary Anti-Racist Action" — not because it was willing to give in to terror, but because the insurance companies threatened to cancel the insurance cover if they decided not to.

Safeguarding against fire and bomb attacks (75 per cent of attacks of this kind in Germany were against business *enterprises) is relatively easy in com*parison with providing protection in computerised branches of industry against data theft, destruction or manip*ulation.*

As the culprits are hard to find very little is known about the tricks of the trade.

The cost of damage caused by computer crime is now moving towards DM1bn, and the number of such crimes is rapidly increasing.

Harald Posny

(Die Welt, Bonn, 21 October 1988)

Not quite the dawn of the paperless office

About 200,000 specialist visitors are expected to have filed through the Orgatechnik office-equipment trade fair in Cologne by the end of October.

About 2,000 international manufacturers of office machines, office furniture and equipment exhibited their products.

Even more markedly than in other years, the fair was dominated by *electronic media advances in data processing* and information communication.

The paperless office is still a long way off; more printing, plotting and copying *takes place than ever before.*

Yet computers are almost always there to record, edit and transmit the information.

The office workplace of the future will be a video terminal station. But it will will have very little in common with the understandably unpopular computer work stations of today.

The fair showed the progress in this field. The quality of screens has improved substantially and it is now a lot easier to understand what is shown on the screens.

Several makers are already marketing screens on which the text appears in black characters on a paper-white background.

This is regarded as particularly ergonomic. In many offices, people still have to change from looking at screen to paper and back again.

If display characters are in bright white and lettering on paper black, it is difficult for the eyes to keep on adjusting.

But converting computers with traditional display screens to the latest technology is often more difficult than once assumed.

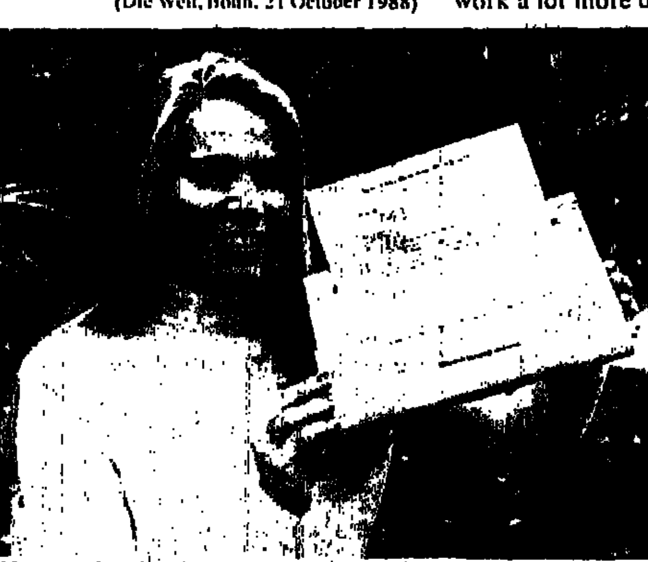
Just purchasing one of the many screens in the *fashionable* "paper-white" is not enough. The programmes, the computer's visual display system and the screen itself must be coordinat*ed to enable a non-flickering positive* presentation.

Many the devices needed have just come on to the market at *reasonable prices — between DM1,000 and* DM2,000.

Understanding what is on screen is as important as visual quality.

For many years a great deal of computer software confronted users with incomprehensible abbreviations or short English-language commands, making work a lot more difficult. Modern techniques now make it possible for computers to keep instructions simple. The computer industry no longer insists on giving its computer instructions in such "codes." Instead the user is shown exactly what to do get the right result. Many of the most common user programmes have in the meantime been integrated into *such user-friendly* surface screens.

(Bremer Nachrichten, 24 October, 1988)



My word! This portable machine weight just two kilos and can print out 150 words a second. (Photo: dpa)

■ COMMODITIES

Changing coffee-bean demands will hit African growers

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

Coffee dealers well know that when international commodity agreements work, they aren't really needed; and when they're needed, they never work at all.

So they have come not to expect too much of the terms and quotas agreed by the International Coffee Organisation (ICO).

That is the only basis on which they can have been satisfied with the terms agreed by coffee importing and exporting countries in Berners Street, London W1, at the beginning of October.

Last-minute agreement was reached in London on export quotas for the *1988/89 coffee year, beginning on 1* October.

Progress by consumer countries seems to have been negligible. When quotas are next increased (whenever that may be), the better qualities preferred in Germany, such as Milds or Arabica, are to be given preference over poorer qualities, such as Robusta.

The London agreement greatly improved the prospects of a new international coffee agreement. The present agreement, the fifth, expires after five years as usual, at the end of September 1989.

Quotas may be adjusted from 25 October 1988 if the ICO indicator price is higher than the 114.4 cents per lb that was the going rate on 30 September.

The indicator price is the mean average of market prices for 15 days of dealing. *If the indicator price is higher,* a further one million 60kg sacks of beans will be added to the agreed aggregate export quota of 56 million sacks.

*The extra sacks will consist of noth*ing but Arabica beans should the Robusta indicator be over 25 per cent lower than the Milds indicator, which is the *case at the time of writing.*

A further quota increase will be permitted, with Arabica mainly in mind, if the market price is still more than 114.4 *cents per lb a further 15 days after the* first adjustment.

This may be a complicated arrangement but Germany was one of its keenest advocates.

Germans drink even more coffee than beer: 180 litres of coffee as against 144 litres of beer each per year.

German coffee drinkers — like beer drinkers, with their preference for "pure beer" and "real ale," — distinctly prefer quality.

Ninety per cent of the coffee drunk in Germany is ground from better-quality Arabica beans, as against 10 per cent of Robusta beans (mainly used, moreover, in instant coffee).

The Federal Republic is the second-largest importer of raw coffee and the largest single importer of Arabica beans. About eight million sacks, or 14 per cent of the international export quota, are sold in Germany. The *terms agreed in* London are an attempt to redress the worst imbal*ances for which the* International Coffee Agreement itself has been large*ly to blame.* The parties to the agreement are the 50 largest producer countries and the 24 largest consumer countries. Their aim is to control the supply of coffee so as to stabilise its price. They chose to fix export quotas rather than to lay in buffer stocks, as in the case of other commodity agreements.

Agreement is first reached on an overall quota (in this case 56 million sacks), which is then shared out among individual countries.

In the past these quotas have paid far too little heed to changes in consumer behaviour.

For years consumer countries, especially the European Community and the United States, have stressed that consumers in the industrialised West are increasingly preferring higher quality beans.

The old quota arrangement left producers with little or no incentive to switch to Arabica beans, for which demand was on the increase, always assuming their climate and soil would allow them to do so.

Quotas are allocated by country, irrespective of qualities required, virtually as an instrument of development policy, and the price is no incentive either.

As a consequence there is too much *Robusta coffee, which is mainly grown* in Africa, and too little Arabica, which grows best in Central and South America.

The significance of the decisions reached at the end of the 14 days of talks in London was that they were a first step in the direction of a future agreement, *the terms of which must be* agreed by the end of September next year.

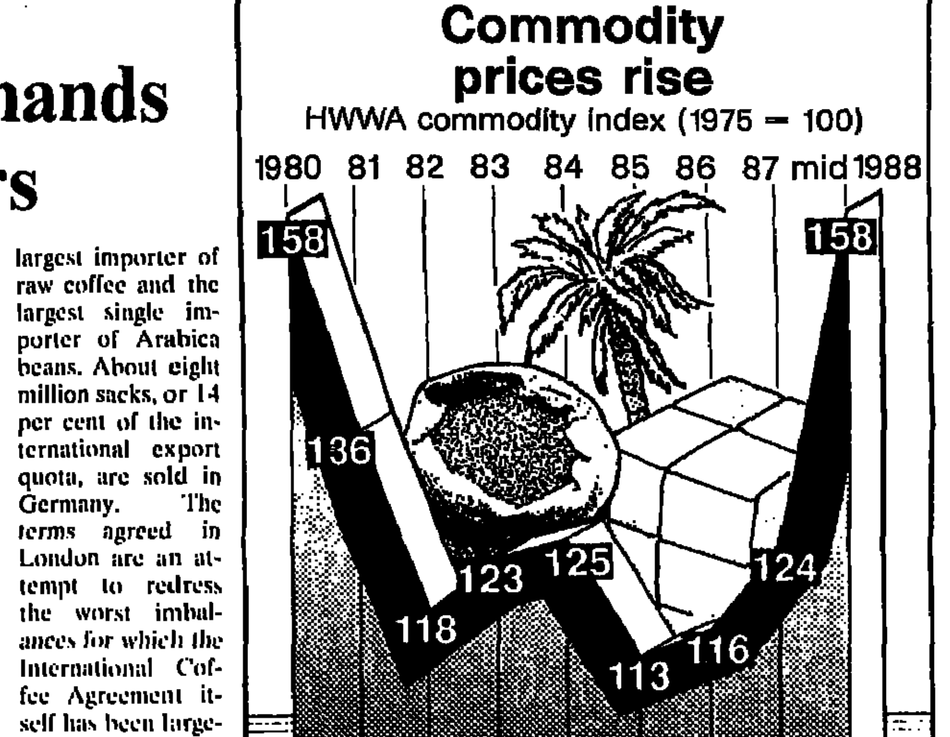
Its terms will pay greater heed to consumer interests.

Yet the International Coffee Agreement at least works to some extent. It does so mainly because it is based on export quotas rather than on buffer stocks, which on a large scale lead to international overproduction.

The breakdown of the International Tin Agreement in 1985 was a case in point. Its buffer stock managers ran out of cash with which to buy surplus production.

Coffee production consists not just of the wrong varieties; it is too high in general.

Crop estimates for 1988/89 amount to as much as 108 million sacks, or nearly twice as much as the recently agreed export quota.



This surplus will either be drunk in the producer countries or sold at bargain basement prices, in breach of the agreement, to countries that are not a party to the agreement, which for the most part means Comecon countries.

The United States in particular feels this is extremely annoying. It sees the agreement as an instrument of development aid policy pursued by the Western world and would prefer the socialist countries not to benefit from it via cut-price coffee imports.

The agreement's long-term target is to bring coffee prices within a corridor of between 120 and 140 cents per lb.

If the market price remains below this level in the New Year (it now stands at 112.74 *cents per lb), quotas will be re*duced, with cuts mainly affected Robusta varieties.

But in the months immediately ahead, which are the crucial months in the coffee year, only quota increases will be permitted. Whether there will be any increase in the Arabica supply is doubtful, to say the least.

Many Arabica producers, the leading producer being Colombia, are said by E., D. & F. Man, the British brokers, not to have stocks available from which to boost the supply.

That would inevitably mean higher *prices for Arabica and Milds. Does that* mean higher coffee prices in the Federal Republic?

German roasters are hardly in a position to absorb any increase in international market prices with retail prices of *high-grade Arabica ground coffee ranging* from nine to eleven marks per 500 grams.

Dieter Rotzoll, business manager of the German Coffee Association, says a domestic price increase is urgently needed already — but unlikely to stick because competition is so fierce.

The losers in an export quota arrangement designed to boost the supply of Arabica coffee, the variety preferred in Germany, are the Robusta coffee growers in West Africa, who are the poorest of the poor.

It will be scant consolation to them that they would be far worse off if there was no international coffee agreement at all.

Leo Fischer

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 21 October 1988)

■ THEATRE / CINEMA

Impenetrable plot, but the set was nice

Most critics expected a mixed response to the first performance of Robert Wilson's play, *The Forest*, at the Freie Volksbühne theatre in Berlin.

An incomprehensible plot is offset by the captivating impact of its visual presentation.

Even Wilson's admirers did not expect the unanimous, although not exactly tumultuous, applause which followed the four-and-a-half-hour performance.

Enormous effort went into getting the right effect: 400 spotlights and 350 square metres of set equipment were used. The total cost (provisionally at least): DM3.685m.

Wilson directed his own stage-sets. David Byrne, who has a reputation as an innovator and as a person who cannot read music, composed the music.

Darryl Pinckney wrote the English lyrics to the songs and Heiner Müller, who has admitted that he doesn't understand some of the text he writes himself, wrote the German spoken parts.

At a press conference Wilson explained how it all began: "I started with the title without having any idea about the content," he said.

Together with Byrne he wanted to put on a play relating to the 19th century.

He came across the Gilgamesh epos discovered in the 19th century. The title *The Forest* was chosen because Wilson regards the forest as a "mysterious place."

The Sumerian-Babylonian Gilgamesh epos tells the story of the despotic king of Uruk who is opposed by Enkidu, a nature-loving and just character.

Gilgamesh and Enkidu fight against each other, become friends, and then join forces to fight against a monster. Enkidu is killed and Gilgamesh returns to his native town in mourning.

The Wilson/Byrne version begins with almost romantic music.

A old man dressed in black (Peter Fitz) can be seen sitting on a stone together with a crow.

A crocodile lying on its back slowly moves its legs; is it dying?

Fantastic figures appear on the scene.

The old man tells of a demon, of a desolate region and of water-lilies.

The water-lilies seem to torment him, since he utters the word just as reluctantly as the word "cataract" ("ca-ca-ca-ca-cataract").

A kind of speech opera develops between the man and imaginary voices.

The total of seven acts are scanned by "knee games" and intermezzi choreographed by Suzushi Hanayagi, who studied the classical Japanese dance.

The sequences of movements are generally abstract, sometimes silent and sometimes accompanied by incomprehensible sounds.

This occasionally produces an inexplicable comical element.

Gilgamesh (Martin Wuttke) is only semi-visible behind the high back of a chair.

Alongside him there is a mechanical lion, which nevertheless seems to enjoy devouring pieces of meat.

While his mother (Eva-Maria Meineke) plays patience Gilgamesh stares through a glass panel at workers standing on ladders and scaffolding in a machine room.

They move like the prole slaves in the films *Metropolis* or *Modern Times*.

This is just one of the many magnificent feasts for the eyes in the play.

Gilgamesh, now a 19th-century factory owner, jumps on to an organ and urges the workers to work harder to the sound of religious music. This is accompanied by the lion's roar. Enkidu (Howie Seago) can then be seen sleeping on a rock.

He is dreaming of his mother, who moves towards him in the form of a huge ghost-like figure.

Alongside him a spiny animal moves its head in friendly gracefulness. Primitive people appear.

The old man sits in a suspended bowl from which smoke is rising, like a martyr in a cauldron, and speaks as if he has lost his teeth.

Gilgamesh and Enkidu meet in the forest. The quarrel between the heroes follows, then their reconciliation, and finally their joint departure to fight the monster.

They move by making the chairs beneath their feet jump. Enkidu falls to the ground in front of the monster, which looks like a mountain fortified by spears. A slow and elegiac finale.

Wilson's showpiece is indisputably full of brilliant skills and aesthetic surprises.

It conjures up moods and derives wit from Müller's words which one would never have expected after reading the script.

Without being cheap Byrne's music is definite easy listening. And the actors are brilliant insofar as they mould their characters with Wilson's ideas.

Both the eyes and the ears of the audience are unremittingly occupied. In the final analysis, a critic has to *decide* for or against Wilson.

I dislike drama which emphasises images and associations, regardless of how masterful the presentation may be.

The link established between the Gilgamesh epos and the 19th century is basically nothing but an arbitrary association of ideas.

Apart from the machine room scene the association degenerates into vague and private mysticism.

The play is marked by a lot of self-infatuation. Plays of this kind, however, are becoming increasingly popular.

The Forest, the last major theatrical production in Berlin's "Cultural City of Europe" year, has already been "sold" (25 performances) to Munich, Paris and New York.

It looks as if a growing number of theatregoers are not particularly interested in "understanding" what they see on stage.

Jürgen Beckelmann

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 20 October 1988)



Associating ideas arbitrarily in *The Forest*. (Photo: Binder/Thiele)

First the Titanic, then the Reichstag ... Klaus-Maria Brandauer (right) in *Hanussen*. (Photo: Tobis)

Tangling with evil almost by accident rather than by destiny

At long last cinema audiences can see the final part of the trilogy the Hungarian István Szabó devoted to the big theme of the 20th century: the corruptibility of human beings in times of far-reaching political change.

In three films, Szabó has described the fate of one individual to illustrate the relationship between power and morality, between conformity and unscrupulous ambition.

His three protagonists, Henrik Höfgen alias Gustaf Gründgens in *Mephisto*, Colonel Redl in the film of the same name, and now *Hanussen* were all played by Klaus-Maria Brandauer.

All three are career-addicted opportunists who try to use the conditions of an authoritarian social system to their own personal advantage.

Szabó deserved the international acclaim for his films *Mephisto* and *Colonel Redl*, as both films were fascinating and complex studies of innocence and guilt and the corruption of power.

Hanussen, on the other hand, takes an astonishingly undifferentiated look at the development of a similar career.

Couldn't a less one-sided presentation of the notorious clairvoyant have been achieved in the light of his biography?

The various phases of his life are awkwardly "ticked off."

A head injury shortly before the end of the First World War uncovers Hanussen's secret. Together with the army doctor Bettelheim (Erland Josephson), Hanussen — at the time chief railway guard Klaus Schneider — discovers his telepathic talents. He wants to let people benefit from his gift, not as a psychiatrist (as suggested by Bettelheim) but as a clairvoyant and hypnotist performing in front of an audience. A wartime friend manages his shows. Hanussen became famous overnight after predicting the sinking of the *Titanic*. sen then moves to Berlin. This is not the first section of the film which revels in opulent but noncommittal images.

Szabó was completely deserted by his narrative strength — a unique case among his works.

According to historical records Hanussen must have been an enigmatic and contradictory figure.

In the film his characterisation remains vague and the historical background is a by no means enthralling illustrated historical broadsheet.

Elegant Viennese and Budapest ambience and magnificent architecture dominate the scene.

Brandauer, for the third time now a careerist in very special political circumstances, is unable to convey Hanussen's demonic charisma.

No magic spotlight can cut this image into his friendly-childlike features.

The conservative charm with which he was able to disguise the coldness, ambition and intelligence of his Höfgen covers up nothing in this film.

There is no sign of the venturesome temperament of a gambler, simply a more plain personality who was almost dragged into the maelstrom of evil by mistake.

Was this intentional? Did Szabó intend pointing out the risks facing an unstable and naive average person?

In Berlin Hanussen moves in the most elegant social circles.

The "apolitical" clairvoyant makes the acquaintance of the prominent political personalities at that time and is soon dragged into the whirl of political events.

His ability to "read" people's thoughts, fears and hopes and, as he claimed, to predict the future prompt more and more people to ask him about the course of political developments.

Hanussen predicts that Adolf Hitler will become German Chancellor, a prediction which in the eyes of his friends made him a Nazi sympathiser. For the Nazis he was a welcome precursor.

At the peak of his career Hanussen revels in his fame, but his downfall is just a matter of time.

Although his predictions hit the headlines he now longer has control over their implications.

He has to die because of his prediction of the Reichstag fire. The Nazis don't need a soothsayer who can see through their lies.

They want the people to believe an entirely different prophet, the demagogue Adolf Hitler.

Szabó only devotes a few short scenes to this probably most important aspect of his film.

Carla Rhode

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 13 October 1988)

■ EXHIBITIONS

The days when avant-garde was in the vanguard

As a kind of finale to the "Cultural Year" which brought seven highly subsidised art exhibitions to Berlin a special exhibition in the Martin Gropius building entitled *Stationen der Moderne* tries to take stock of the trends in modern art between 1910 and 1969.

The display of 860 items is an attempt to reconstruct twenty art exhibitions which paved the way for aesthetic and cultural policy trends during this period.

Jörn Merkert, the new director of the Berlin Gallery, has pieced together the available remnants of twenty exhibitions which were dominated by avant-gardists.

A walk through the exhibition begins with a reconstruction of the *Brücke* presentation in the Dresden Arnold Gallery and ends with the videotapes from the "Television Gallery" realised by Gerry Schum in 1969.

Between both the visitors to the exhibition find the members of the *Blaue Reiter* group, the Dadaists, the artists of the Russian Revolution, representatives of the *Neue Sachlichkeit* and verists, Nazi art, the abstract art of the post-war years, Zero, Fluxus and the Berlin "Critical Realists."

Two new versions of the epoch-making photo exhibitions (*Film und Foto*, Stuttgart 1929; *subjektive fotografie*, Saarbrücken 1951) complete the panorama of the most important art trends which developed in Germany or dis-[illegible] as stimuli from the outside.

The iconoclasm of the Nazis, the losses during the war and the worldwide scattering of material mean that the reconstruction of the pre-war exhibitions have to do without "highlights."

The gaps (and stopgaps) in individual sections speak a language which will leave many visitors angry and full of nostalgia.

With the help of original catalogues (reprints of which are available in the exhibition file) the team of Berlin art historians meticulously traced the whereabouts of the items.

Those which were not destroyed today belong to museums or private collectors, most of whom were not willing to subject their works of art to the risks of transportation.

The only exhibition from which all items were found is the exhibition held in 1952 in the Room Gallery of the Frankfurt insurance agent Klaus Franck.

For the first time there is a joint public presentation of the "neo-expressionist" painters Götz, Greis, Kreutz and Schultze ("Quadriga").

The "First International Dada Exhibition" held in 1920 is almost authentically transposed into the here and now.

In an exact reproduction of the tavern of the Berlin art dealer Otto Burchard the reproductions of two missing paintings which Dix and Grosz placed between Dada slogans, printed graphics, posters, collages and the three-dimensional pig-headed "Prussian Archangel" can be found together with originals.

Kandinsky is missing in the reconstruction of the first exhibition of the *Blaue Reiter* group at the Munich Thannhauser Gallery in 1911.

Two of the three paintings which the Russian exile handed in to the exhibition were destroyed. The Swiss owner of the famous *Komposition Nr. 5 (Das Jüngste Gericht)* refused to make the painting available for the Berlin exhibition.

The Berlin exhibition organisers were also unable to obtain Robert Delaunay's (Eiffel) "Tower".

Nevertheless, the ensemble of items presented gives a good idea of the beginnings of modern art in Germany.

Herwarth Walden's "Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon from 1913, during which the disappointed *refusés* of the Cologne Sonderbund exhibition gathered in the Berlin Sturm Gallery, looks even more torso-like than the *Blaue Reiter*.

The most fascinating of the 47 (of the 366) items are Boccioni's "Rising Plastic Construction", a portrayed head of the Czech Otto Gutfreund, Kandinsky's *Bild mit weisser Form*, a female idol of Jawlensky, Macke's *Schaufenster* painting, a highly colourful floral composition by the Russian Natalia Goncharova and six pen sketches by the Austrian Alfred Kubin.

The reconstruction of the "First Russian Art Exhibition", which was presented in the Berlin van Diemen Gallery after the conclusion of the Treaty of Rapallo, is just as fragmentary as the selection from the *Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon*, Walden's review of the international avant-garde on the eve of the First World War.

Not even half of the roughly one thousand purchasable objects took into account the constructive style of the age: the rest copied the impressionism adopted from France.

After roughly 50 items were sold the exhibition returned after a stop in Amsterdam to the Soviet Union, where paintings, sculptures and utensils disappeared in museum stockrooms.

Apart from two suprematistic compositions from Malevich and Ivan Kliun, replicas of sculptures catch the eye in the Gropius building, including those from Tatlin, Gabo, Rochenko and Steremberg.

The Soviet intermezzo is followed by an unmistakably German phenomenon, the exhibition held in Mannheim in 1925 under the *Neue Sachlichkeit* label.

A fifth of the selection made at the time by Gustav F. Hartlaub is presented in Berlin.

Alongside the three paintings by Beckmann we find major works by Dix, Grosz, Schrimpf and Scholz.

Despite the serious gaps the reconstruction of the Mannheim exhibition provides an insight into the splendour of realistic German painting between the two world wars.



Return of the Blaue Reiter group: Franz Marc's *Affenfries*, 1911.

To characterise the "excommunication" which hit avant-gardism just a few years later fifteen items are presented which were removed from the *Kronprinzenpalais* as purchased items by Ludwig Justis for the New Department of the *Berlin National Gallery*.

Only one of these (primarily expressionist) masterpieces — Lovis Corinth's "Trojan Horse" — returned to the place of its original acquisition after the war.

The concoctions of the Nazi *Blut und Boden* style of painting, which were presented in the "Great German Art Exhibition" (with over 1,000 items) alongside the "Degenerate Art" exhibition in Munich in 1937, is confronted in Berlin by two expositions from London and Paris which presented the works of ostracised German artists living in exile

Under the patronage of the English art critic Herbert Read an exhibition entitled "German Art in the Twentieth Century" was presented in summer 1938 in the New Burlington Galleries in London.

This exhibition was not restricted to the representatives of contemporary German art, but also included older works, such as a Liebermann painting from 1874.

The catalogue listed 269 items by 64 artists, most of whom were well-known expressionists.

Two (preserved) major exhibits of this first presentation of German art in England were not available for the Berlin exhibition.

In London the arrangement of paintings and sculptures was dominated by Max Beckmann's triptych *Versuchung* and Franz Marc's *Grosse Blaue Pferde*.

The "Free German Art" exhibition opened by German émigrés at the Paris Maison de la Culture on 4 November, 1938, was less extensive and did not have such renowned exhibitors. It was particularly difficult to reconstruct this exhibition due to the lack of a corresponding list of exhibits and artists. In all probability the following artists took part in the Paris exhibition: Beckmann, Kirchner, Klee, Max Ernst, Kokoschka, Anton Räderscheidt and Felix Nussbaum. One of the most fascinating passages of this synopsis is the "General German Art Exhibition" organised in Dresden in 1946 with the help of Will Grohmann.

Return of Dada: Opening of the First International Dada Exhibition in 1920. (Photos: Catalogue)

250 artists from all generations, representing all art trends and coming from the three zones of occupation and Berlin took part.

Gems from the classic modern art period were presented alongside critical and fashionably surrealist items.

The reconstruction reflects the first (and only) all-German exhibition after 1945, even though *Der Krieg* from Dix and *Tausendjähriges Reich* from Hans Grundig, both of which are owned by the Dresden Painting Gallery, are only shown on photos.

After a glance at the abstract group "ZEN 49" the exhibition moves on to the probably most significant art event in post-war Germany: the second *documenta* exhibition in Kassel.

Gleaming spotlights and shiny white bricks bring back a bit of the atmosphere in which abstract expressionists from America, British sculptors and the virtuosi of the Ecole de Paris gathered in the summer of 1959.

What was interpreted as a monumental illustration of the art theory publications of Werner Haftmann, the esperanto of an art style with no direct link to the objects themselves, was able to fascinate many people for the first time since the often militant rejection of any avant-gardism during the twentieth century.

Four years later, in 1963, the tolerance towards concrete art had again vanished.

The Düsseldorf Zero group, a group of artists which opposed the primacy of tachisme and Informel, was the butt of derisive criticism rather than the centre of praise during an exhibition at the Berlin Diogenes Gallery.

In the meantime a lot of the paintings, items and light-kinetic apparatuses presented at that exhibition have been sold to private art-lovers, but none of them to museums. The "television gallerist" Gerry Schum also found it difficult to sell his productions.

Following a documentation of the Fluxus activities his works form the final chapter to the review.

Television, initially a partner to the gallery owners, then deserted them.

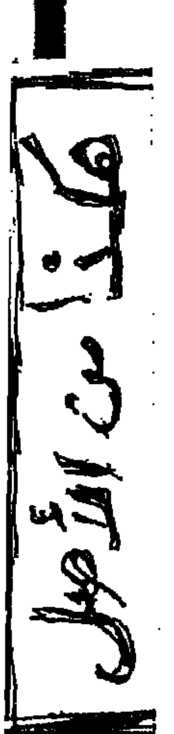
The wheel came full circle at this point for both artists and art presenters.

Treated with hostility and misunderstood both groups seemed to be fighting a losing battle until a consensus was finally reached with public taste.

The Berlin exhibition demonstrates that exhibitions depicting art styles of the future are rarely successful, whereas retrospectives are generally well received.

Camilla Blechen

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 12 October 1988)



THE ENVIRONMENT

Fighting the consequences of exploitation by man



In a flap. New wetlands are providing endangered cranes with a new habitat.

The World Wildlife Fund (WWF) has an impressive record today, 25 years after it was founded.

Many species have been rescued from *the brink of extinction and habitats* been classified as nature reserves and saved — for flora and fauna — from developers.

Yet the mountain of environmental problems has grown gigantically in recent decades. Planet Earth has been *plundered by man at a rate not foreseen* in even the most pessimistic forecasts made in the early 1960s.

The WWF's Arnd Wünschmann says: "Optimism was trumps 25 years ago — and environmental protection an unknown concept.

"*Technical and economic progress* fostered unquestioning confidence in a future holding forth the promise of growing prosperity for all.

"Nature alone, the seemingly inexhaustible source of fresh riches, was disregarded in economic equations."

The consequences of man's ruthless exploitation of nature in recent decades

❛A daily occurrence: pieces of nature disappearing forever❜

have been unmistakable, yet most warnings still go unheeded.

The WWF, for instance, called only recently for a realignment of develop*ment aid policy toward the Third* World.

Where funds provided by the rich industrialised countries were used to fell the tropical rain forests for the timber trade, one argument ran, mankind and the world would stand in the long term *to forfeit the basis of their existence.*

In 25 years the WWF has carried out 5,000 projects in 130 countries, invested DM300m in donations and membership dues.

With its coordinating centre in Gland, near Geneva, it employs a full-*time staff of 400 all over the world,* including 64 in Germany.

They are daily confronted with yet another piece of nature that has vanished for ever.

The tropical rain forests are transformed into sawmills, the oceans into *garbage tips and the rivers into canals.*

Prince Philip, the WWF president, says: "Dying forests, eroded soil, destroyed river courses, dead coral reefs, drained marshes and wetlands and the swiftly vanishing genetic variety of flora and fauna can neither be substituted nor replaced."

The German section of the WWF enjoys a special status. "No other WWF section runs national projects of its own on such a scale," Herr Wünschmann says.

In connection with the silver jubilee Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands, founder-president of what has been called the "United Nations of nature," found words of praise for the "sound and thorough nature conservation work" of the German section.

Professor Kurt Lotz, board chairman of the WWF's German section, emphasised "the need to protect nature as the basis of human life both for those of who who are alive today and for future generations."

Flora and fauna vanish silently but forever, as an appeal by the German *WWF points out.*

They include indigenous orchids and trees of the tropical rain forest. Eagles and whales. Tigers. Rhinos. No-one will hear anything when yet another species of monkey vanishes from the face of the Earth forever.

*The WWF's German section sees it*self as taking specific action to stem the tide of what would otherwise be inevitable disaster.

Five examples of local, German activities are here outlined:

• Coastal mud-flats: The German section of the WWF lends wholehearted support to national and international efforts to ensure that "the mud-flats survive on a large scale as a natural heritage."

Seeing itself as the lobby for an otherwise silent nature, the WWF has drawn up conservation concepts, commissioned research projects and bought land in a bid to ensure that the mud-flats are used in a manner conducive to conservation.

Despite the designation of two areas of mud-flats as national parks the WWF sees no end to the threat to their survival. It accordingly proposes to back additional research projects.

The WWF's German section attaches *peak priority to maintaining the* 600,000 hectares of mud-flats, or over 60 per cent of the total, in German territorial waters.

The Bremen ecology station was set up to monitor German North Sea mud-flats from the Ems to the Elbe estuaries in 1980.

In 1984 a Schleswig-Holstein WWF mud-flats research unit was set up at Kiel University and transferred a year later to Husum.

The ultimate aim of the two mud-flats monitoring stations is to "arrive at an international protection system for the mud-flats."

• River flood plains: The Rhine flood plain research institute was set up in Rastatt, Baden, in 1985 in a bid to protect the last remaining river flood plain meadows in Central Europe.

This project, with the international WWF code-number 3410, is typical of the German section in being supraregional and transnational in scope and activity.

The Rastatt research coordinates activities in Austria, Switzerland and France as well as in the Federal Republic of Germany.

For the past two years it has also paid attention to the hard-pressed remaining *flood plain meadows in Czechoslovakia,* Hungary and Yugoslavia.

One of the most pressing problems faced by the last remaining acreage in Germany is flood precautions along the upper reaches of the Rhine.

The Rastatt nature reserve is — as yet — still a paradise, with a wide-ranging network of waterways full of reed beds and silver willows.

• Wetlands: Cranes — the feathered variety — are back. As birds that nest in wetlands they are a species seriously endangered in the Federal Republic of Germany. The creation of new wetlands and restoration of old breeding areas in the remaining marshland of Schleswig-Holstein and Lower Saxony has provided the cranes with a new *habitat.* The German WWF Foundation looks after over 4,000 hectares of wetland, having bought land in nine breeding areas. Between 1972 and 1987 the number of breeding cranes in the Federal Republic increased from 17 to 48 pairs.

• Protection of species: The Frankfurt-based German WWF Foundation monitors and analyses the trade in wild animals and plants and products made from them, such as *ivory and furs. Care is taken to ensure that* international agreements on the conservation of species are strictly observed, while the WWF naturally supports regional programmes to conserve species.

In Schleswig-Holstein it backs efforts to ensure the survival of the white-tailed or grey sea eagle. In Hesse, Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria it helps to ensure the survival of the peregrine falcon.

It helps to look after otters in Lower Saxony, *wild geese on the Lower Rhine* and bats all over the country.

There is a research project in the Berchtesgaden national park, Bavaria, to re-establish the griffon vulture.

• The youth protects nature campaign supports environmental projection, na*ture conservancy and landscape and*

❛A world strategy drawn up to preserve red lists❜

species conservation programmes all over the Federal Republic.

Young people are recruited to establish or restore valuable natural habitats with a view to improving the living *conditions of wild animals* and plants.

The more often the WWF has had to launch an emergency rescue bid, the more self-evident it has become that "individual moves to protect endangered species of flora and fauna have long ceased to be enough."

A *more comprehensive* strategy was indispensable to ensure that individual moves did not prove ineffective.

Jointly with its scientific partner, the International Nature Conservation Association, the WWF Foundation has compiled a list of strategic priorities for its worldwide work.

One of its criteria has been the "red lists" of endangered species, with their data on the state of nature.

This led, in the early 1980s, to the drafting of a "world strategy to preserve nature" as an appeal to the earnest of all nations to ensure its survival.

Referring to the silver jubilee of the World Wide Fund for Nature, as the WWF is now officially known, a member of its German staff ironically noted that:

"We would be happy to forgo any further anniversary."

"What we envisage," he added, "is a world in which man and nature are at one. The WWF would then be superfluous."

Torsten Teichmann

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 16 October 1988)



Standing up for its existence. The otter is a threatened species. (Photos: dpa)

AFGHAN BOY'S 6-MONTH HOSPITAL ORDEAL

New language and fixed-up leg for Hidayatullah, 5

No one knows exactly how Hidayatullah's leg was shattered. He might have been on a truck somewhere in Afghanis*tan when it was attacked by helicopters.* Or the truck might have hit a landmine. Hidayatullah can't say precisely. He is only five. He was taken to a refugee camp in Pakistan where the broken limb was put in a makeshift splint designed for left legs. It was the only splint available. Then Hidayatullah had a piece of luck — *if anything in his short* life can be described as lucky. He was flown to Germany for surgery. Manfred Ph. Obst told the story in the columns of *Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt.*



Chums. (Photo: Poly-Press)

Hidayatullah, a five-year-old Afghan refugee boy from Peshawar, Pakistan, has been in a Bonn hospital since the end of April for complex surgery to his shattered right leg.

He now speaks fluent German — for a five-year-old. "You're daft, Jakob!" he tells the eight-year-old German boy in the next bed. "No I'm not!" says Jakob. Hidayatullah tells him their friendship is over — ever.

Jakob fell from a swing and injured his leg so badly that he has had to spend weeks in traction. *His mother visits him* daily and life is anything but boring with Hidayatullah to keep him company.

When you first see Hidayatullah hopping round the ward and along the corridor on his baby-blue plastic crutches you might be think he was recovering well *from a complicated fracture like Jakob's.*

Asked whether he fell off a swing too, he says: "No. Off a car." Lots of people were on the car (not in it), so it would seem to have been a truck.

They all jumped off the truck when the helicopters came — and he then burst into tears. Hidayatullah tells his tale in German, a language he didn't speak a word of at the end of April when he was flown to Frankfurt by Pakistan International Airlines.

He now speaks it as fluently as any other five-year-old born and bred in Germany. "A very bright child," his doctors and nurses agree. He also has incredible will-power.

That is not immediately apparent from his swarthy but attractive complexion, bright eyes and curly hair. What strikes visitors is how quick he is to understand what others say, to use words and to make himself understood.

When he arrived at the hospital six months ago, his right leg hung limply from the knee. He was apathetic and confused, *a seemingly hopeless case.*

Amputation seemed almost inevitable, and would surely have been so in Pakistan.

Did it really happen when helicopters fired on a truckload of refugees? Or did the truck hit a land-mine? It's hard to say — and doesn't really matter.

"Shin injury due to enemy action" was the term used when Europe was last at war. In his case it was Afghanistan, and Afghanistan was certainly at war — as his shattered leg shows only too well.

Seriously injured, he and his family (father, mother and three children) made it to *a refugee camp in Pakistan.*

There he was given medical assistance — inadequate assistance as it happened — and seemed destined to survive as a one-legged cripple.

Charitable organisations exist in Germany and elsewhere. Their aim is to help *in cases such as these.*

There are limits to the help they can give. Helpers — including doctors, theologians and ideologues — often overlook the individual case.

Be that as it may, one such commission selected Hidayatullah as a suitable case for treatment and X-rays of his shattered leg were sent to the Evangelisches Krankenhaus, a Bonn hospital.

Professor Gerhard Ott and chief surgeon Heinz Braick took an interest in first the X-rays, then the case and finally the little boy.

Hidayatullah was flown to Germany with his shattered right leg in a makeshift splint designed for left legs.

It wasn't a mistake by refugee camp doctors in Peshawar. It was the only splint they had. What was left of his right foot was splayed outward in any case.

Heinz Braick, 39, is a surgeon of the old school — as a leading fellow-surgeon approvingly puts it.

He is not only a keen doctor with wide and specialised knowledge but also experienced in a wide range of surgery, including micro-surgery.

*Proficiency in micro-surgery was essen*tial. So was the patient's confidence in his doctor.

Hidayatullah was naturally a mess. He was in pain. He was in strange surroundings. But he quick gained confidence in Dr Braick.

He spent eight hours in the operating theatre as Dr Braick transplanted tissue and muscles, nerves and blood vessels from his back and shoulders to what was left of his leg, working with a microscope.

Hidayatullah's shin was diagnosed as having been totally destroyed. Muscle and *skin, tissue and bone had to be taken from* other parts of his body and transplanted to his leg.

"Taken" is arguably too nondescript a word to denote the surgical procedure used. It would be more accurate to say "cut out," "chiselled out," "drilled out" and "punched out."

Surgeons are craftsmen; so are turners or fitters. Under the microscope Dr Braick's handiwork involved splinters of bone and shreds of tissue.

It is all part of an extremely complicated surgical technique known as a myocutaneous flap transplant.

What it amounted to, according to one of the doctors associated with the case, was the "reconstruction of a shin that basically no longer existed."

The prospects for Hidayatullah's leg were poor — but it has been rescued — even if their is more surgery to come.

The boy's leg, carefully bandaged, is firmly attached by screws and pins to a metal device known as a *fixateur externe* that will gradually help the shin to regain its normal length as the weeks go by.

Hidayatullah does not feel this tiresome length of metal is a permanent instrument of torture. He has grown used to it and lives and plays as though it had always been part of his right leg.

Does he fully understand what happened to him back home in Afghanistan and what has happened to him here in Germany? Of course not, but he is bright and has a shrewd idea what he has been through in his long months in hospital.

Asked how the scars of the operations on his back and shoulders are getting on, he lies on his stomach, keeping his bad leg well clear and wriggles his pale blue shirt up his back to reveal two narrow lines on his skin.

They clearly show how readily his body has come to terms with the strenuous surgery.

At times, inadvertently, he mentions his mother. He still feels homesick and is looking forward to seeing his family again.

He has lately started having nightmares. During the daytime he is less responsive to his surroundings than he used to be. He wasn't like that when he first arrived (and was in a far worse state of health).

The doctors and nurses feel sure they know when his condition and attitude changed a little. *It was after fellow-coun*trymen visited him.

Were they pro-government or anti-government? Did they make claims of him or threaten him in any way?

Did they tell him horror stories about his family? No-one knows. But everyone feels sorry for him, a five-year-old who has had more than his fair share of sorrow in life.

When he looks out of the window into the park, a tree-lined park with woodland behind it, he may well have an entirely different scenery in his mind's eye. But he isn't saying — certainly not to strangers.

In December he will probably be able to fly back to Peshawar and his family and, if all goes well, to return with them to Afghanistan and maybe even to their old home.

Manfred Ph. Obst

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 21 October 1988)

■ FRONTIERS

Overpopulated rumpus on the campus

Süddeutsche Zeitung

The (northern) winter semester has barely begun and already it looks like a record: about 250,000 freshmen are helping to make the academic existence more complicated, more unattractive and more inefficient than it has been.

Overload is the term. This technocratic expression doesn't sound too bad. But.

More and more students arrive to fill relatively fewer and fewer places and to be taught by relatively fewer and fewer staff — and that despite the fact that every year, the proportion of school pupils who go to university directly after *passing their Abitur is declining.*

Only a quarter of Abitur (university entrance examination) holders go to university the same year they pass the examination.

Secretly, the universities are extremely grateful to those ingrates who turn their backs on academe and decide not to come. If only a small fraction of them were to change their mind, the campuses today would not be standing directly at the front door of fiasco (they've already got that far) but right in the middle of one.

So is it a matter of those in charge of education politics not seeing what is happening? No. They see it and have *been saying so for years.* Only last week, the (ever louder) Bonn Education Minister, Jürgen Möllemann said that, with *1.5 million students,* the universities had more than double the capacity they could handle.

Well cried, that man! But what has been done? More than a little, he proclaimed.

He had made sure that his party, the Free Democrats, had again made education a central plank. But at the party conference at Wiesbaden, they were not well prepared enough to handle the issue; their efforts were more to do with goodwill than with sketching out anything in clear strokes.

The subject of education was lost in the shadows of the vote to see who would lead the party (this was where *Count* Otto Lambsdorff became party chairman).

Möllemann can say in his own defence that the *education* budget will in 1989 increase again for the first time in five years. But it is only a step towards redressing the balance: the Bonn government and most of the *Länder* have been letting things slip bit by bit over the past decade or so.

Over these years, the cost-cutting steps were always accompanied by gestures of sadness and hints that soon the days of overloading would be at an end. But the emergence of this joyful occasion, a reduction in the stream of students, has been several times deferred.

This lack of readiness to extend the universities, just like the reluctance to invest in education as such, was and re*mains a grave mistake* if *one reckons,* as one must reasonably reckon, that the prospect of declining numbers of students is only a middle-term prospect.

Universities, even in the days when the politicians provided better for them than today, in no way suffer from affluence.

Learning in many overpopulated faculties is already so miserable (to name names: jurisprudence, the trendy faculties of economics and commerce; and medicine, where the cramming takes place in pursuit of an end that is far removed from practical requirements) that even doubling the existing capacity would only now fill the worst of the holes.

As for the second role of the universities, the one which they themselves regard as the more elevated — research. In view of the deficits, they are barely better off here. The fear many cost-conscious politicians *have of an army of academics who* for a decade have had nothing to do except live highly paid existence as guests of *the taxpayer is a laugh.*

Although attempts to understand the problem and get to grips with it are *needed, it doesn't happen.*

Instead, the formula is mainly restricted to drawing up miracle formulas for damming the student flood.

The most dumb thing is the numerus clausus (which restricts admissions by numerical limits), which manages to do little with the flood except create detours and tributaries in the wrong direction so that some students spend some time in a faculty where they don't really want to be but where there is a vacancy and where they can wait until sometime perhaps something turns up in the faculty where they do want to be, and which just cannot stop the stream it was designed to stop and which, in the end, only manages to increase the cost of the whole exercise.

Instead of deciding to do away with it once and for all, education ministers ***threatened at their last conference to in***troduce a new numerous clausus for business administration — another exam*ple of lack of both courage and imagina*tion in education politics.

More popular than numerous clausus is the call for reduced length of study. That is not much cleverer. Above all: over the past 20 years it has been clearly enough shown that damming the flow cannot be imposed from the top downwards.

Here universities themselves are required to take action themselves so that faculties can be accommodated to performance: they must structure examinations, for an important instance, in such a way that students who want to progress faster can progress faster.

Some education ministers consider in all earnestness that making universities more attractive in this way is a danger. But it is a danger that must be accepted.

Rainer Stephan

(Suddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 20 October 1988)



Overcrowded universities. There's no room inside. (Photo: AP)

A portrait of the worker in the Year 2,000

Changes in the emphases to job training have been suggested by a committee representing industry and commerce. The changes are not intended only to tailor training to the needs of industry.

The committee, which made written submissions to a parliamentary committee, which is to make recommendations on education policy for up to the Year 2,000, says changes should not be entirely materially oriented. They should consider into account *personal freedom* and self realisation.

Young people today had different ex*pectations. They wanted to have a hand* in the way work was organised, in the handling of information and in personal *development. Increased flexibility in* working hours was an important factor.

The committee referred to the difficulties of the changeover from school to career and the reduced importance of this threshold period.

A fundamental change in the dual system of job training both at work and school and the way it was financed was not needed. There was no dispute about the system, which had proved itself and had received international recognition.

Education policies should ensure that the system and its flexibility should not be reduced. There was a shortage of training places only in a few *Länder*.Firms remained ready to train people and and demand for places was declining.

Mobility was another factor. People *were more prepared to move to other* areas to get work. The only risk was that disadvantaged areas would become *even less attractive places to invest in if* too many people left.

Because of demographic changes and *trends towards higher general standards* in school leavers there could be a tendency to exacerbate career discrepancies.

The demand for training places in trade and technical careers could decline even more markedly than demand for places in business and service-industry careers, which are attracting both those with Abitur (university entrance examination) and those with lesser qualifications.

The committee said that there would probably be more people in trade and technical careers entering the service industries as today.

An important function of the school was to motivate pupils to prepared *themselves for a career in the trades and* technical without neglecting business and the service industries.

Training in centres outside the workplace was an emergency measure, said the committee. This was justified when the job market was tight. But the job market was getting better all the time and such centres should be quickly disbanded. Even disadvantaged young people had better chances now of getting jobs.

The promotion of training for them should be concentrated on *firms* so that both employee and firm benefitted.

An integration of general and career *training to impart specialised and per*sonal knowledge was not required and it had always been the task of career train*ing to impart essential qualifications for* careers.

The specialist of the future would need to be trained so that he could independently plan, carry out and control He should be flexible enough to take over related specialist work in his field, be capable of adjusting to technical changes and have the capacity to benefit from advanced training.

The committee believes it is not necessary fundamentally to restructure the career training system. There was already sufficient flexibility to meet varied demands and to motivate towards further learning according to individual needs.

More concentrated general training should be geared to new methods aimed at more closely meeting industrial demands. The amount of training spent at training centres should be reduced. *In* time terms, nothing was gained.

The march of modern technologies *would lead to a general reduction in the* number of people in pure handwork skills. The complexity of work which *relied on a close relationship between* skill and knowledge, would increase.

Activities of individual people would be *less* focussed on single products, machines or procedures than much more on entire systems.

There would be increased demand for qualalifications which encompassed more than one specialist field. There would be a greater demand for abstract thought in, for example, electronics and data processing.

The committee says the current system of financing by individual works has proved itself.

Many other nations wanted to introduce the system and it — including the way it was financed. It should be retained to avoid administration costs and the necessity of collecting contributions and to retain flexibility.

Above all, it allowed the needs of the market to dictate who was trained where.

The *committee mentions the success* of wide-ranging efforts to widen the still limited career prospects for young women. There was now *a sharper in*crease in the number of women entering the trades and technical careers than in the business commercial careers. *In* 1987, 14.3 per cent (51,000) were in trades and technical compared with 10.8 per cent (28,000) in 1975.

On a European level, the committee regards the Treaties of Rome as not envisaging a harmonisation of training systems — rather that the aim of the systems should be the same.

They support the idea of qualifications being recognised across borders so that workers are free to travel.

(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 12 October 1988)

■ HORIZONS

Becoming what they always wanted not to become: housewives

Working mothers always find it hard to find enough time for both jobs and children. In Germany, most kindergartens and schools finish around midday so mothers have their children again in the afternoons. In other countries where *school* hours tend to be much closer to working hours, mothers have a better chance of following a career. Ulla Plog looks at the plight of The German Mother for the Hamburg weekly, *Die Zeit*. She talks to mothers who have lived in France and Britain; looks at a magazine survey which discovered a role conflict among German women and which found that not only do working mothers have a tough time but that they often make things more difficult *for themselves — many girls are trained* for a job in the expectation that an unbroken working life lies ahead and then *a baby arrives and they become precise*ly what they didn't want to become: a housewife.

When Jacqueline Witt came to Hamburg from Paris three years ago, she got a surprise: it was as if she had a small child again instead of a 12-year-old daughter.

The reason: the daughter was with her for half a day after school came out. It was just like old times. There was lunch to be made, driving to music lessons, just being available for entire afternoons — this had not happened in Paris

There. Jacqueline took her daughter to school in the morning and picked her up again in the evening. Just like everyone else.

In the meantime the young French mother has discovered how complicated it is in Germany to be a working mother.

During her first few years in London Barbara Eggebert thought that at least her six-year-old son would be tired out *when he returned from school in the* late afternoon. But, much to her surprise, he had no trouble coping.

In the mornings the pupils in the first class of primary school alternated between playing and learning. After lunch it was time for sports, play-acting or just being together.

Frau Eggebert started a study course and was able to finish it on time.

She is convinced that she would never have been able to do the same in Germany because someone has to take care of the children in the afternoon.

Anyone who leaves Germany to live abroad and takes a closer look at other European countries soon discovers that living with children doesn't have to be the obstacle race it is in Germany.

In certain respects we're just like an island.

Whereas women in Britain, Belgium or Norway take it for granted that they *can go out to work in the knowledge* that someone is taking care of their children, mothers in Germany often *have to take a definite decision* one way or the other: family or job.

Whereas those admirable French women who write bestsellers and guarantee high viewing figures for their TV companies often have two, three or even four children, mothers who are also successful in their careers are relative rarities in Germany.

If the findings of a study by the German Youth Insitute in Munich on the compatibility of career and family — compiled for the magazine *Brigitte*, — is anything to go by this is unlikely to change in the near future.

Working mothers in Germany not only have a tough time, but often make *things more difficult than they need be.*

Numerous surveys have shown that young women do not want to become *housewives.*

They learn, prepare themselves for a certain occupation, and assume that an *unbroken working life lies ahead — until* the first child is born.

And if the husband earns enough money roughly *half* of the women opt out of working life — for longer than just the official upbringing year.

These women then start doing what they never really wanted to: they become housewives. For a few years to begin with, and — in view of the job market situation — indefinitely in many cases.

The authors of the *Brigitte* study point out that a society has been created in which a "good mother" is still tied to the housewife image, but in which at the same time employment for both men and women represents a cultural norm for successful identity formation.

The apparent alternative, therefore, is either to be *interesting* and employed or motherly and at home.

Mothers in other countries are not *confronted by such a role conflict.*

The behavioural model for women in France is much more clear-cut and has *often been the subject of ironical critic*ism.

The journalist Michèle Fitoussi wrote *an amusing book about her own life* as the new superwoman who is successful at work, takes care of the children, does the shopping with apparent ease and then conjures up a marvellous soufflé for her guests in the evening.

A lot of French women recognised their own characters in her book.

Francine Destouches teaches German at a *lycée* in Le Havre, and brought up her son Philippe with the help of an au-pair girl.

She sent him to kindergarten at the age of three, but didn't feel that this solution was ideal because Philippe was often very tired from the long time spent in the group.

The kindergarten supervisors, however, took time to help Philippe and after a while he got on a lot better.

It was not until she came to Germany that Francine was given to understand



that a child who is taken care of all day by *"strangers" would start to feel unatt*ached and become unhappy.

She insisted that this was common practice in France.

Later on she summed up the impressions gained in Germany as follows:

"You want children to receive as perfect and as individual an upbringing as possible, and you always decide in favour of the interests of the child and against the mother.

"First and foremost we rely on conventions — and institutions." Both France and Britain can look back on a long institutional tradition of child care. Corresponding institutions were set up long before women started moving into employment in a big way. We, *how*ever, live in a country, whose society, *educational* and child care institutions act as if there are no women who want or have to go out to work. Day-nursery places are only available for 1.4 per cent of all infants. In Munich there was a proper fight for kindergarten places this year; there is also a lack of places in other German towns and cities. Once a mother has found a place for her child all she then has to do is find a job between 8 o'clock in the morning and 12 o'clock mid-day.

Guess who's holding the baby. (Photo: Klaus Kallabis)

That's when the children are ready and waiting to be picked up from the kindergarten.

Only one in ten kindergartens in Germany is open midday or offers flexible hours — a figure which prompts even the women's associations of the conservative CDU to ask what happens to the children brought up by just the mother or father.

Wiebke Strasburger is a doctor and her husband Michael a journalist.

When their daughter went to kindergarten they were able to organise their daily commitments in such a way that there was always someone at home to look after her. Sometimes the grandmother gave a helping hand.

Although they knew that things would become more difficult once *their daughter started going to school* the timetable for her first year in the primary school was much worse than *anything they had expected: school on* Mondays between 8 a.m. and 9.35 a.m., Tuesdays between 10 a.m. and 11.45 *a.m., Wednesdays between 8.40 a.m.* and 10.45 a.m.

The teacher told the parents that there would be 13 hours instead of 10 after the autumn break.

At first glance it looks as if parents in Germany would prefer to spend the child's infancy together with with their children.

The *Brigitte* study shows, however, that after the kindergarten phase at the latest the overwhelming majority of parents would like more public provision of day care for their children.

The *absolute pain threshold* is reached when the child starts going to primary school.

Many mothers feel overtaxed when their children come home at 11.35 a.m. because the teacher is ill.

Why should our children be any less resilient than children in other countries?

Bonn Minister for Youth, Family Affairs and Health, Rita Süssmuth, feels that all-day establishments are needed, in the nursery and in the primary school sector.

Everyone was surprised at such an *offer from a CDU Minister.*

In reply to the question why she feels so relieved in England Barbara *Eggebert* answers with a smile on her face:

"You look for a good school, and then the school has to make sure that the child learns well and that he becomes a wonderful human being."

In Germany, however, Frau Eggebert always gets angry at the way in *which mothers are worn down by triv*ialities.

To have a few hours of uninterrupted peace and quiet gives mothers a chance to relax. The German educational system usually doesn't allow this to happen.

The family, generally the mother, is responsible for everything: for the mislaid English book, for violin practice in the afternoon, for the child's emotional balance, for putting on the brace, for the condition of the exercise books and for the child's mental development in general.

There's just no time to recover from the daily routine, and the half-day school system in Germany means that the strain goes on for years.

And who wants to leave ten- or twelve-year-olds alone with the TV, computers and the telephone after they come home from a jam-packed morning at school?

The new women's commissioner in *Hamburg has promised one all-day* school per year.

In the meantime, however, Jacqueline Witt has been infected by a widespread virus in Germany.

"Originally," she said, "I wanted to work in my office, but the way the German school system is organised I don't like to leave my 15-year-old daughter on her own the whole afternoon. I get a bad conscience."

Ulla Plog

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 21 October 1988)